

A
TREATISE
OF
ANGELS.

OF THE NATURE,
Essence, Place, Power, Sci-
ence, VVill, Apparitions, Grace,
Sinne, and all other Proprie-
ties of ANGELS.

COLLECTED OVT OF
the holy Scriptures, ancient Fathers,
and Schoole Diuines.

BY
JOHN SALKELD, lately Fellow of the
Iesuites Colledges in the Vniuersities
of Coninbra, Corduba, and
Complutum.

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FRANCISCVS SVARIVS, and
MICHAEL VASQUEZ.

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ТРЕАТІЕ

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OF THE NATURE
OF THE PLACE, POWER, &c.

Science, Power, and

1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 26

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Allegheny in 1840 to the present day.

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TO
THE MOST
P V I S S A N T,
Sapient, and Renowned
Soueraigne, JAMES by the
*grace of God, King of Eng-
land, Scotland, France,
and Ireland, defender
of the Faith, &c.*



*It was (no doubt)
a right worthy
speech of a most
worthy minde,
Principum mag-
nifi-*

Munnoſius
de Alphon
ſo Rege.

THE EPISTLE

nificentiam non solum in eo esse, vt magna largirentur munera, sed vt hilariter ac benignè oblata reciperent munuscula : That it belonged to the magnificence of Princes, and other great Persons, not onely to bestow great gifts, but also to accept of small. All men therefore agnizing the first, I was emboldened to experiment the last; and so to shew in some backward token, that which hath no limit in inward affect. Small I grant is the thing I offer, in regard of the Offerer: though great in respect of the obiect it treateth; but farre greater in receiuing light from those reflected beames to whom it is directed.

The matter (my Liege) is of Angels, and particularly of assisting
and

DEDICATORIE.

and protecting Angels : to whom then is it more due, if I may presume so to direct it, then to my So-ueraigne, who by office is no lesse; and to mee in particular (if I durst arrogate so much vnto my felicitie) hath beene much more? They *direct, illuminate, and protect; all this I most humbly acknowledge from your Maiestie. They moue, further, animate, and cooperate in all good: who doth not see this in your Maiesty? They touched mee (I confesse) long since by ministeriall motion, and illustration, to search those things which of my selfe, it was impossible for mee to attaine vnto, about the Romish abuses, errors, tyrannies, and vsurpations: but what had all this beene, if the splendor of your Maiesties beames,

the

* Clemens
Alex. lib. 6.
from.
Orig. hom.
11. in
Num.
Orig. lib. 3
cap. 2.
Basil. Mag.
lib. 3. cont.
Eunonium
Aug. que
quis alius
Soliloqui-
orum Au-
thor. cap.
27.
Primasius
ad cap. 1.
Epist. ad
Heb. & plu-
res alij po-
stea addu-
cendi.

THE EPISTLE

the force of your Maiesties reasons,
the euidence of your demonstrati-
ons, had not so manifestly conuin-
ced, so forcibly perswaded yea, with
a sweet kinde of necessity attracted;
shining in the darkenesse wherein
I was muffled, loosing the fetters
wherewith I was tyed, bringing me
out of the Dungeon, to which I was
condemned? wherefore now tur-
ning to my selfe, and awaking as it
were out of a dreame, with lowli-
est thanks to God, and to your Sa-
cred Maiesty, vt Angelo liberato-
ri, I will boldly pronounce with Pe-
ter: Nunc scio verè quia mi-
sit Deus Angelum suum, & eri-
puit me de manu Herodis, Papæ,
Hispanicæ Inquisitionis, omni-
què expectatione Iesuitarum.
Here your Maiesty may vouchsafe
to

Act. 12.

DEDICATORIE.

to behold, who, and whose I am,
and that by no ordinary title, your
Subiect, your Conuert: the one by
nature, the other by grace: in that,
most faithfull; in this, no lesse con-
stant, then with all humilitie grate-
full: illud voueo, in hoc glo-
rior.

And that this my desire may be
more complete, this onely I craue
of your Princely Clemencie, that
as I am wholly yours, your Maie-
stie vouchsafe to receiue mee
wholy as your owne, by that pe-
culiar title, of which it hath plea-
sed your Highnesse to accept alrea-
dy: seeing that can be no dishonour
vnto your EXCELLENCY,
in which the Diuine Maiestie see-
meth so much to glory, to be a
light (I meane) vnto the blinde,
the

THE EPISTLE

Naz. ad
Olympiū
Principem
epist. 78.

the way to them that goe astray,
and a Guide vnto your seduced Sub-
iects. For thus (as Nazianzene
said to the most famous Prince
Olympius, Ὁ καὶ μὲν ἐνοβείας
λαβὰς τὸ κατὰ νῦν χαρίῃ σοι τὰ πράγ-
ματᾶ, καὶ μόνῳ τυγχάνειν ἀλώπᾶ, τὰ
μὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλώσιμα,) haue you re-
ceiued the Guerdon of your Prince-
ly Pietie, that you alone might at-
taine that height of glory, which to
all others hath beene denyed : For
which, and other infinite benefits
(for your Maiesties sake, bestowed
from aboue vpon these Realmes,
God of his Mercy blesse, preserue,
and protect your Royall Person, to
the long establisbing of your High-
nesses Throne, to the utter van-
quishing of all your Enemies,
comfort of your Subiects, defence
of

DEDICATORIE.

of the Faith, and prosperous advancement of Gods euerlasting Glory, through IESVS Christ our Lord.

Your Maiesties

most loyall Subiect,

and true Conuert,

John Salkeld.

DEDICATORY

of the Faith, and professors of
the doctrine of Gods everlasting
Glorie, through JESUS CHRIST our
Lord.

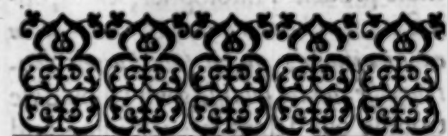
Your Majesties

most loyal Subjects

and the Countie

John Salkeld

A



TO
THE GENTLE

Reader, Student, or Fauourer
of Schoole-Diuitie.

Gentle Reader,



BEING determined to
giue some taste of that
kinde of DIVINITIE,
which by reason of the
subtilty of the Schooles
and profunditie of the
matters, can scarce be expressed in any
vulgar tongue; I thought best to begin
with this of the Nature and Proprieties
of ANGELS; as which is most facill
and pleasant: and hath most connexi-
on with naturall Philosophy, and Phi-
losophicall Principles. But here (mee
thinke) I heare that of the morall and

To the Reader.

most prudent Philosopher, *Seneca*, objected; *Quid te torques, & maceras in ea quaestione, quam subtilius est contempsisse, quam soluisse?* why should we trouble our selves in examining and fitting of those points, in which there is shovne more wit, subtilty, and iudgement in the contemning of them, then in their solution? *Cui bono? inquiet non nemo.* To what end are these and such like questions? what good bring they with them? and lastly, what warrant or ground haue wee for the resolution of these so abstruse, and vnrevealed points?

I answer, that all these, as likewise the rest of Scholasticall Diuinitie (if so be that, they be truly so to be reared) are either deductions out of faith, or Philosophie; or rather, most commonly grounded vpon both: eyther that the one Principle is of Faith, the other Philosophicall; or if both be out of Faith, then the manner of the deduction is by force of naturall reason. Now therefore, if these Principles be taken from Scripture or Faith, as they haue

To the Reader.

haue affinitie with it, more or lesse, according to the greater or lesse euidence of the Theologicall deduction, so are they grounded vpon the same foundation that our Faith is: and lastly, resolved into the authoritie of God himselfe, not so immediately as our Faith, or the diuine Word of God is, but by the mediation of discourse: but if secondly, the one part or premise whereof these Theologicall conclusions be deduced, haue not this firmitie of faith, at least way they haue that which humane capacitie, and naturall reason, or Principles of naturall Philosophie can afford: and consequently are not to be contemned, as eyther vnpleasant or vnprofitable. *Cum enim ista quaruntur* (as S. Austine saith of these, and the like questions of ANGELS,) *& ea sicut quisque potest, coniectat; non inutiliter exercentur ingenia, si adhibeatur disceptatio moderata, & absit error opinantium se scire quod nesciunt:* which (as I hope) I haue with due care performed, omitting many Questions and Arguments not so fit for this place, or

Aug. in Enchirid. ad Laurent. c. 48.

To the Reader.

to be declared in any vulgar tongue,
as for the subtiltie and metaphilique
of the Schooles.

Onely therefore I desire to be par-
doned for the faults, which I subiect to
the censure & *iudicio doctiorum & me-
lius sentientium*, and that my boldnesse
may be taken in good part, as it was
written with a good minde, both for
the delight and profit of the Reader, to
whom I will be bold to promise things
of more moment, if this of lesse (as
written almost *ex tempore*, though for
due and most iust reasons may be ac-
cept, Farewell.

THE

THE TABLE,
and Order of the
Chapters.

CHAP. I.

WHat an Angell is, and why is he
so called.

CHAP. II.

*Whether the Angels were created by
Almightie God; or rather they be a cer-
taine increate and diuine substance.*

CHAP. III.

*When, and where, were the Angels
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Of the number of the Angels.

The Table and order

CHAP. V.

Whether the Angelicall substance be of his owne nature subiect to corruption or no.

CHAP. VI.

Whether the Angels be compound of matter and forme: or rather, be pure spirits, without any matter or corporall substance.

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CHAP. VIII.

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CHAP. IX.

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CHAP. X.

Whether when Angels or other Spirits doe appeare in shape of man or other living Creatures; they be alwayes true
and

of the Chapters.

and reall visions, or rather but onely
imaginary, by some illusion happening in
our senses.

CHAP. XL

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gels worke in the bodyes which they are
said to assume.

CHAP. XII.

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CHAP. XIII.

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CHAP. XIII.

What is that, by which an Angell is
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CHAP. XVI.

How Angels doe moue from one place
to another.

CHAP.

The Table and order

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whether the Angels can, or doe, im-
presse any motion in corporall creatures,
and in paticular of the motion of the ce-
lestiall Orbes.

CHAP. XVIII.

whether the Angels can worke any
true Miracles or no: and how wee may
discerne the true Miracles from the
false.

CHAP. XIX.

wherein are declared some other spe-
ciall difficulties about the Angelicall
power: and first, about the reuiuing of
men, and other things dead.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Angelicall vnderstandings and
first, whether the Angels doe vnderstand
all things by their substance, or no.

CHAP. XXI.

whether the Angels besides their sub-
stance and intellectuall faculty, doe neede
any other forme, whereby things may be
represented vnto them?

CHAP.

of the Chapters.

CHAP. XXII.

From whence proceede the Angelicall formes, by which they understand.

CHAP. XXIII.

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CHAP. XXIIII.

How an Angell doth know himselfe.

CHAP. XXV.

How doe the Angels naturally know Almighty God?

CHAP. XXVI.

whether the Angels can, or doe, know things to come, as well those that depend on the will of man, as those which are independent.

CHAP. XXVII.

In which are resolved diuers doubts, about the Angelicall knowledge of things to come.

CHAP. XXVIII.

whether an Angell be alwayes exercising?

The Table and order

cising his understanding, so that alwayes
hee hath some intellectuall operation
about somewhat; or rather sometimes he
doth cease from all mentall action.

CHAP. XXIX.

Whether an Angell can know many
things at once; and that, whether by dis-
course or no.

CHAP. XXX.

Whether the Angels doe naturally
know the inward cogitations of other
Angels; or thoughts of men.

CHAP. XXXI.

Whether the Angels doe speake one to
another; and how that is.

CHAP. XXXII.

Whether an Angell can naturally know
the mysterie of the Incarnation, or any
other mysterie of our Faith, or superna-
turall effect or object.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of the operations of the Angelicall
will.

CHAP. XXXIV.

CHAP.

of the Chapters.

CHAP. XXXIII.

When, and by what meanes, haue the blessed Angels obtained their last end and supernaturall felicitie.

CHAP. XXXV.

In which is prosecuted the subiect of the precedent Chapter, and declared the meanes by which the good Angels obtained their eternall felicitie.

CHAP. XXXVI:

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CHAP. XXXVII.

Whether the blessed Angels can cease to loue Almighty God, or rather doe with a sweet kinde of necessitie loue him, though without coaction.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

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CHAP. XXXIX.

Whether the blessed Angels can sin or no.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XL.

Whereupon doth it proceede that the blessed Angels cannot commit any offence against the diuine Maiestie.

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Whether there can be created any Angell, which of his owne nature cannot sinne.

CHAP. XLIII.

Of the Angelicall protection: and first, whether Angels doe helpe, and keepe men from euill or no.

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Whether besides the generall protection and helpe, from many, or all Angels in common, there be assigned to euery man one Angell, as his particular protector, guard, guide, and keeper.

CHAP.

of the Chapters.

CHAP. XLV.

Wherein is declared the consent of the Latine Church, about the same Angelicall custodie.

CHAP. XLVI.

Of the particular Angelicall custodie of Paradise, and what is to be understood by the Cherubin and fiery Sword, which is said to keepe the entrance of Paradise.

CHAP. XLVII.

Of the diners orders, subordination, and degrees of Angels.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Whether all Orders of Angels be sent vnto men, as protectors, and helpers in the ministry of their saluation.

CHAP. XLIX.

What was the first sinne of the Angels; and first, as touching carnall concupiscence.

CHAP. L.

*Wherein is proued, that the sinne in which the Angels transgressed, was pride,
and*

The Table, &c.

and examined what kinde of pride is
was.

CHAP: LI.

In which are briefly resolved diuers
curious questions about the bad Angels:

CHAP: XLVII.

CHAP: XLVIII.

THE

CHAP: XLIX.

CHAP: L.



THE
ANGELICALL
Nature and Pro-
prieties.

CHAP. I.

*What an Angell is? and why is he so
called?*



HE most manifest
excellency, aboue
other Creatures, of
the Angelicall Ef-
sence, maketh their
name to be attri-
buted to things (eue-
ry one in their degree) most excellent:
for first of all, it is attributed euen vnto

B

the

Gen. 48. 16

Exod. 14.

19

& 33. 20.

& 1 Cor.

10. 9.

Mal. 3. 1.

Chap. 2. 7.

Psal. 113.

the eternall Word and Sonne of God, according to that of *Genesis*; *The Angell which deliuered mee from all euils.* Yea, hee who was the Captaine and Leader of the Israelites, who sometimes is called, *The Angell of Iehouah*: sometimes *Iehouah*, is called also, *The Angell of the Testament*. Secondly, this name is giuen to Saint *Iohn Baptist*, *quo inter natos mulierum non surrexit maior*: Behold I send my Angell. Thirdly, to the Priests and Doctors of the Church; *For the Priests lips shall preserue knowledge, and they shall seeke the Law at his mouth: for he is the Messenger of the Lord of Hosts*: Or, as both the Originall, Greeke, and Latine hath; *The Angell of the Lord of Hosts*. Fourthly, it is appropriated now altogether vnto that which is the subiect of this present Treatise, the blessed Spirits, assistants and messengers of almighty God: for that as the Psalmist saith, *Hee maketh the Spirits his Messengers*, or Angels: which word both in Greeke, Latine, and English, is primitiue deduced of the Greeke,

ἀποτὸς Ἀγγέλων, which is to declare, send, or carry a message; so that *Angel* doth signifie nothing else, but a messenger, or declarer of the Will of God: or as *Tertullian*, *Ambrose*, *Augustine* and *Gregory*, note; *Nomen est officij, non naturæ*; It is a name of their office, and not of their nature. And so *S. Paul* by this name declareth their end, for which, after their eternall blisse, they were created; *They are all ministering Spirits, sent forth to minister for their sakes that shall be heires of salvation.*

Tert. lib. de car. Christi.
Amb. in 1. Epistol. ad Hebræos.
August. in Psal. 113.
Greg. Hom. 34. in euan.
Heb. 1.

Wherefore Angels be nothing else but as *Damascene* defineth; ὁσιὰ νοερά, αἰὲν κινήτος, ἀνιέξαστα, ἀσώματα; θεῶν λειτουργοὶ καὶ αἰὲν χεῖρι, ἐν τῇ φύσει τῇ ἀδυνατοῦ ἐνληφύτοι; *A most pure, and perfect, intellectuall, immateriall, and immortall Creature, created and appointed to be Gods attendants, and messengers betweene God and man: not that the diuine maiestie, and infinite power of almighty God hath necessitie of any helpe, or cooperation of his creatures; but supposing, that hee hath created*

Damas. lib. 2. orthod. fidei, cap. 5.

the world in waight and measure, it seemeth much more befitting the nature of inferiour things, that they be effected, produced, and brought to passe by the immediate concurse of second causes, (as the Philosophers tearme them) or other Creatures; then onely by the immediate worke and operation of the first and vniuersall cause of all things, which is God himselfe. And so wee see, and experiment every day, that this is the common course and order, which he, who is the first rule of all order, hath prescribed in the production of all creatures, after their first Creation, that every kinde should be immediately produced by the like. So that God doth neuer onely worke, when the things haue other sufficient naturall causes for their production and beeing: and the like also is in supernaturall causes and effects.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

*Whether the Angels were created
by almighty God, or rather
they be a certaine increate, di-
vine nature and substance.*

AS touching this point, it was the
opinion of a certaine Hollander,
named *Hermanus Ritswich*, who for
this, and other like opinions, about
the existence of things by themselves,
without any creation or production
of any superiour power, was burned at
Rome *An. 1512*. And it seemeth to
touch or symbolize with the ancient
Heretikes, named by *S. Austine* the
Angelici, as yee would say, the Angeli-
cals; for that they adored the Angels as
Gods, and consequently thought them
without beginning or dependence of
any other cause.

Thirdly, it was one of the blaphe-
mies of *Simon Magus*, that he was the
onely author and father of the Angels,

*Bernardus
Luxemb.
catal. haer.*

*Aug. de her.
cap. 39.*

*Iren. lib. 1.
cap. 30.*

and that hee had begot them of *Selene*, his Concubine: whereby wee may see what a man may come vnto, being forsaken of God, and destitute of his diuine grace.

For though there be not that euidence in this matter, that is in other naturall causes and effects: neuerthelesse, it may easily be showne, euen by naturall discourse and reason, that they be no Gods, but rather most perfect creatures, produced by the omnipotent power and hand of God. The first, for that Vnitie, Simplicitie, and Independendence, as may be conuineed euen by naturall reason, be most perfect attributes and proprieties of Deitie: which, in no wise (as shall be more at large declared afterward) can agree vnto Angels. The second part also, that they were produced by Almighty God, and not by any other, is no lesse manifest: for else seeing they be creatures, they must needes be produced eyther of more perfect, or more imperfect Creatures: not of more perfect, for that there be none
such;

such; neyther any equall vnto their perfection (as in the discourse of this matter is to be demonstrated) neyther could they haue their being of any thing more imperfect; for that, that which produceth must needs containe in some sort, the perfection of the thing produced by it.

Secondly, it is a thing so cleare out of holy Scripture, that which the Councill of Lateran doth also auerre, *Angelos a Deo creatos esse, nec esse eter-* nos; that the Angels were in time created of Almighty God, and are not eternall; that none who doubteth not of the truth of the Scripture, can haue any scruple in this, principally out of the *Psal. 148. Dan. 3. Eccles. 18. and Rom. 11. Apoccal. cap. 4. Ch. 10.* but most clearely by that of *Paul* in the *Colossians*, *By him were all things created, which are in heauen and in earth, things visible and invisible, whether they be Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers: all things were created by him, and for him: according as is more largely shewen*

* Athanas.
de beatitu-
dine filij dei.
Epiphanius
tom. 2. lib. 2.
Method. in
Serm. de Re-
surrectione,
apud Epi-
phanium.

Damasceus
lib. 2. de fi-
de orthod.

cap. 3.
Theodoretus
lib. 3. de
divis Angelis.
Aug lib. 11
de Civitate
Dei. cap. 9.

* Greg. Ar.
2. dist. 1. q. 3
Gab. ibid.
Ochamus 2.
Sent. q. 8.
Et quodlibet.
q. 1. quest. 5.

* Ambros.
Basil. & Nis-
sen. in Hex.
a neron
Aug lib. 11
de ciuit. dei.
cap. 32.

by * Athanasius, Epiphanius, Methodius,
Damasceus, Theodoretus, Eucherius, and
St. Austine.

CHAP. III.

When, and where, were the Angels
created? and why Moses made
no mention of them?

HERE the question is not, whether
the Angels were created from
all eternitie, or no; for that though
many both Philosophers and Divines
iudge, that the world by the absolute
power of God might have beene
created eternall, and consequently the
Angels also; nevertheless, it is most
certaine out of many places of holy
Writ, that nothing was so created co-
eternall with the diuine Maiestie; for
so it is to be vnderstood the first of Ge-
nesis, *In the beginning God created hea-
uen and earth;* that is, in the beginning
of time, not of eternitie, as * Ambrose,
Basil, Nissenas, Austine, Chrysostome,
Hilarie,

Hilary, Hierome, Nazianzen, Damascenus, and many other Fathers, and *Dionys* doe interpret.

The chiefe difficultie therefore, in this point consisteth; whether the Angels were created long before the rest of the world; or in the same instant (as so be that, as *S. Austin* did thinke, all was created in one and the same moment of time) or in the space of sixe dayes, as the rest of the Fathers, and Doctors doe interpret the first of *Genesis*. In which difficultie there be three distinct opinions of the Fathers: the first, that the Angels were created long before the rest of the corporall world: this was thought the most probable, of *Origenes, Gregory, Nazianzen, Chrysostome, Basil, Damascene, Ambrose, Hilary, Hierome, Cassian*; yea, long before these Doctors, this was the opinion of diuers Philosophers; in particular, of *Plato*, in his booke touching the creation of the world. Which opinion is proued, as intended by *Hierome* and others, principally out of those wordes of the Apostle to *Titus*,
cap. I.

Hilarius in Psal. 39. Nazian. orat. de Natali. Damascenus lib. 2. c. 3. Athan. orat. in id, Omnia mihi tradita sunt.

Origenes Hom. 4. in Esaiam. Nazianz. Sermo de natali Dom. Chrys. hom. 22. in Genesim. Basil. hom. 1 & 2. in Hexamer. Damasc. lib. 2. de fide orthodoxa. Amb. lib. 1. Hex. cap. 5. Hil. lib. 12. de Trinid. Hierum. in primum cap. ad Titum. Cass. col. 8. cap. 7.

cap. 1. vers. 2. Whom God, that cannot
 lie, hath promised before the world be-
 ganne: for that, if it be so, that he pro-
 mised, before the beginning of the
 world; consequently, there must needs
 haue beene some Creatures then; to
 whom he made that promise; but these
 could be none, but the blessed Angels,
 they therefore must be vnderstood, to
 haue beene created before the rest of
 the world, to whom the promise was
 made.

The second reason of this opinion,
 is, for that seeing the Angels doe ex-
 ceede; in excellencie of nature; the
 rest of the world; it seemeth more
 conformable to their degree, that they
 should be created before all other
 Creatures.

The third reason is, for that in the
 Booke of *Wisedome* it is said, that *Wise-
 dome hath beene created before all things:*
 but by this *Wisedome* can be vnder-
 stood no other *Wisedome* but the An-
 gelicall; nor the diuine, for that is of
 it selfe, and increate; nor humane, for
 that, it is euident that man was created
 after;

after; therefore it must of necessitie be vnderstood the Angels, whom God created, adorned with wonderfull wisdom and vnderstanding.

The second opinion is, that the Angels were created after the Creation of the world, together with man: for so it seemeth that God himselfe doth testifie vnto *Job*, *behold Behemoth, whom I made with thee*: but by *Behemoth* is vnderstood, as many of the Fathers doe interpret, the Diuell, who was created with the rest of the Angels.

The third, and most vndoubted opinion, is, of *Epiphanius*, *Theodoretus*, *Austine*, *Gregory the great*, *Beda*, and of all the Latines, who wrote after *S. Austine*; as also of the currant of Schoole-Diuines; with *Lambard*, and *Aquinas*; and is proued out of the first of *Genesis*; *In the beginning God made heauen and earth; then God said, let there be light, and there was light*: where, as *S. Austine*, *Cyrillus*, *Rupertus*, *Beda*, and *Aquinas* doe interpret, by the Heauens and Light, are to be vnderstood

Gennad. & Achatius apud Ispom. in catena.

Epiphanius Haresi 65. Theodoretus quest. 3. in Genesim. Greg. lib. 3. 2. moral. cap. 10. Aug. lib. 11. de ciuit. del. cap. 10. Bed. in cap. 1. in Gen. Lambard. 2. Dist. 2. Gen. ca. 1. vct. 1. & 3.

Eccles. 18.

stood figuratively the Angels, as Eccles. 18. *He that lieth for ever, created all things, simul, together*, to wit, eyther in one and the same instant, as Saint *Austine* interpreteth, or very soone one after another, in sixe dayes space, as the rest of the Doctors, doe more rightly vnderstand.

Aug. lib. 12
de ciuit. Dei.

That therefore which Saint *Hierome* alledgeth out of the Apostle to *Titus*, is to be vnderstood with Saint *Austine*, that *promittere* in that place, doth signifie as much as *statuere*, or *predestinare* to determine or predestinate from all eternitie: so that God did promise vnto himselfe, or determine with himselfe, to send his onely Sonne into the world, & that from all eternity.

Neyther hath the second reason any probabilitie; that in regard of their dignitie, the Angels should be created before the rest of the world; for that then so man should also haue beene, whom neuertheless it is manifest was created after the Beasts, and other lining creatures, as complement and last perfection of them all.

That

That also which is alledged out of *Ecclesiasticus*, is to be vnderstood of the diuine Wisedome of God (as is manifest out of the circumstances of the same place) who notwithstanding is euermlasting, eternall, and increate, as God himselſe; is said to be created, produced, or generated, because it hath the perfection of all productions, creation, generation or whatsoever.

In like manner, I answere to that of *Iob*, where it seemeth, that *Behemoth*, or the Diuell, signified by the name of *Behemoth*, was made vvith man; that it is not necessary, though it be said, *tecum, with thee*, that they should be made in one and the same day or time: and to this place of *Iob* I oppose another of the same Booke, where God demanded of him; *Where wast thou, when the Starres of the morning praised mee together?* or, as the seauenty Interpreters doe interpret, *When with a great voyce all my Angels did praise me?* Therefore, if the Starres were created the fourth day, and that
with

Iob. 38. 7.

*Septuagint.
Interpretes.*

with their perfection and motion, consequently the Angels also were created before man, who are (as many both Philosophers and Divines doe hold) the mouers of the Celestiall Orbes and Stattes: but whether this be sufficiently grounded or no, it shall be more largely discuffed afterwards.

But here peradventure some will demaund, first, that supposing the Angels were created within the first sixe dayes space, in what day they were created. To that I answered with *Casmanus*; *Doctiores probabile esse conijcere, primo die*; that the more learned doe coniecture, that they were created the first day: and this out of the first of *Genesis*; *In the beginning God created beauen and earth*; to wit, all things visible and inuisible: But this reason of *Casmanus*, eyther doth not proue the intent; or too much; for by the same reason, it might be said, that man also was created the first day, if because *God created beauen and earth the first day*, it may consequently be inferred, that

*Casmanus
de Angelis
par. 1. cap. 5*

This is also the opinion of *Bucanus*, who saith; *Probabiliter ex historia Moyses colligit primo die creatas, quo Caelum, cuius fuerunt incolae, creatum est, unde Angeli eorum di-
cantur.*

*Mat. 24. 36
Gal. 1. 8.*

that then he created all things visible and invisible.

Wherefore I conclude with *Theodore*, who after he had largely prosecuted the fore-said opinion of *S. Augustine* in this matter, and had proved it with many arguments, at length concludeth with these wordes; *Illud certè necesse est scire, omnia quæcumq; extant, excepta sancta Trinitate, naturam habere creationi obnoxiam: hoc autem concesso, si quis Angelorum turbas ante Cælum & terram conditas esse dixerit, non offendet verbum pietatis.* Whatsoever opinion wee hold in this matter, and the like, supposing wee confesse that all things besides the blessed Trinitie were created, it is no matter, what wee hold about the other, which is not reuicled, or sufficiently grounded in Scripture, or any other inforcing reason.

As touching the second point of this question, to wit, where or in what place, the Angels were created: I answer with the common opinion of *Molina*, *Vasquez*, *Sumel*, *Valentia*, *Aquinas*, *Bucanus*, *Bede* and *Strabo*, that the Angels

Theodoretus
in 3. quæst.
super Gen.

Mol. Vasq.
Sumel, &
Aquin. prima parte in materia de Angelis.
Buc. de Angelis loco. 6.
Strab. Beda in Gen.

Angels were created in the highest, most lightsome and glorious heaven, in *Caelo empyreo*, which for his splendor and light, is called, the fiery heaven. For that seeing (saith *Aquinas*) the Angels are created to be presidents over all corporall creatures, or Gods ministers in their gouernment, it was most conuenient they should be produced in the highest and most eminent place: but whether this reason of *Aquinas* be vrgent or no, it is after to be examined in another place, where are to be declared the Angelicall power, offices, administration, or ministerie in all terrene and corporall things.

As concerning the third point of this Chapter, why *Moses* in describing the creation of all other Creatures, omitted the Angels? The first answer is of *S. Athanasius*, or of the Author of the Questions, written or entituled of *Ansiachus*, yea, of *Chrysostome*, and *Theodoretus*; that seeing the Iewes were so vehemently inclined to Idolatry, as is manifest by the example and history of

of the braſen Serpent, with which, after ſo many Miracles wrought for them, they committed Idolatrie, therefore, Moſes ſcaring their ill diſpoſition, omitted to deſcribe vnto them the creation of ſo admirable creatures as the Angels be.

This reaſon is thought by *Abulenſis*, *Peterius* and *Bucannus*, more ordinary then ſolide; For that the Jewes before their going out of Egypt, and the writing of this Booke of Genetiſis, had notice of the Angels, by tradition of their fore-fathers, to whom oftentimes they had appeared, as to Agar, Loth, Abraham and Iacob. Moreover, preſently as ſoone as our firſt Father was caſt out of Paradife, Moſes himſelfe maketh mention of the Cherubims which were placed before that Garden of pleaſures.

But certainly neyther of theſe two reaſons doe demonſtrate againſt the former of *Chryſoſtome* and *Theodoreſus*: not the firſt, becauſe thoſe viſions of Angels (as *Carnotus* well noteth) were not ſo ordinarily knowne, but vnto thoſe who were farre from

any such danger of Idolatrie: neyther the second, for that the placing of the Cherubins before Paradise, was such, that rather it might cause terror, then allure to reuerence or religious honour.

So, after the same manner, and for the like reason (as *Vasquez* obserueth, and all doe grant) though almightie God permitted in the old Testament some representations, pictures, and Images, both of Angels and other things, in such forme and manner as might be without danger of Idolatry: Neuerthelesse, as *Albertus Magnus*, *Bonaventura*, *Richardus*, *Paludanus*, *Catherinus*, *Aiala*, *Dominicus Sotus*, *Horancius Clitonus*, and other more moderne Diuines doe hold, hee prohibited all those Statues, Images, or representations, vvhich in any sort might be occasion of scandall to the people, in so much that (as *Iosephus* in his first booke against *Appion* witnesseth) out of *Hecataeus* a most ancient Historiographer, speaking of the Temple of Hierusalem, *Simulacrum*

aut aliquod anathema, ibi nequaquam fuit; and in his second Booke, nec Imperatoribus licuisse statuas erigere; that it was not lawfull, even for the Emperours, to erect any Statuas, least as Origines in his fourth Booke against Celsus sheweth, occasio preberetur hominibus crassis, neque animi eorum à Dei cultu auocaretur, least (saith this Doctor) some occasion of fall might be given to that rude Nation, or their mindes should be in any sort called from the worship of the true God.

An other reason is giuen by Saint Ambrose and Damascene, why the creation of the Angels was not mentioned by Moses, because (say they) the Angels were created long before this corporall and materiall world, which Moses then intended to describe: but seeing as wee haue altogether proued, this supposition is not solide, the conclusion can be no better.

*Bucanus and Pererius the one borrowing of the other, give a third reason, in these words; *Moysem quod videtur Hebræos esse perquam rudes, nec spiritualium*

*Bucanus in
Angelographia part. 1.
cap. 5.
Per. in Gen.
lib. 1. cap. 2.
in vers. 4.
et 5.

ritualium rerum doctrina capaces, ad
eorum aptum & intelligentiam attem-
perata & accommodata seriptione sua,
huius duntaxat mundi corporati &
aspectabilis originem & procreationem
explicitare valuisse; that Moyses because
hee saw the Hebrewes so rude, not ca-
pable of the doctrine of spirituall mat-
ters, therefore attempering his writing
unto their capacitie, for whom he
wrote, declared onely the original, and
beginning of the materiall and corporal
world.

This seemeth but a coniecture
though not improbable; howbeit, if
coniectures may take place, I more in-
cline to the first, as of more authori-
tie, or to that of Saint *Austine*, *Cyril*,
Bede, *Rupertus*, and *Aquinas*, about
alleged, who by the light which *Mo-
ses* describeth in the first dayes worke
vnderstand the Angels: so that the
description of the world was complete
but by reason of the rudenesse, and de-
praved pronenesse to Idolatrie of the
now reprobate nation, in some sort ob-
scured. Or lastly, that is most probable

whic

which *Procopius* in his Preface to *Genesis*, saith; that vnder the name of the Heauens, the Angels are also contayned. *Quemadmodum enim non possuit aerem vel ignem, vel extremis, vel summis media coniunxit; ita licet nullibi nominatim Angelos nuncupet, attamen sub cæli nomine, quod Angelos continet, etiam Angelorum creationem nobis caute intimat*: and this is also the exposition of *Origines* in his first Homilie vpon *Genesis*.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the number of the Angels.

TO this *Aristotle* answereth, that they be onely *ad numerum orbium Cælestium*, as many as the Celestiall Orbes: the *Platonickes*, That they be many, indefinitely: *Rabbi Moses*, the Egyptian, that they be as many as be the Vertues of the Heauens, the Stars, and all other inferiour things: *Daniel*, that they be thousand thousands, and

Rab. Moses
Ub. 2. cap. 7.

Dan. 7. 10.

Iob 25. 3.

Greg. in cap.
26. Iob 1.
lib. 17. cap.
9.

Daniel quo
supra.
Iob. Apoc. 7.
10.
Hier. in 7.
Dan.
Dioni. cap.
9. Hier.

Caetan. 1.
part 9. 50.
ar. 3.

ten thousand thousands : *Thousand thousands ministred vnto him, and ten thousand thousands stood before him.* Iob that they be innumerable, *Is there any number in his armies?* as who would say, they be innumerable; *to wit*, vnto vs, not vnto God, nor in themselues, which is that which Saint Gregory auerreth, *In cognitione humana rationis supernorum spirituum numerus non est. Quia quanta sit illa frequentia inuisibilis exercitus nescit.* Againe, *Supernorum spirituum seu ciuium numerum Deo esse numerabilem, hominibus verò demonstrari innumerabilem.* Wherefore Daniel and Saint Iohn in his Apocalipse when they seeme to define some determinate number of Angels, they accommodate themselues to the ordinary phrase of one determinate number for some very great vnknowne number, as Hierome and Dionisius doe expound.

Some Diuines, more bolde to pronounce then fortunate in prouing, do say, that they be more in number then be all the materiall things created: for why? because according to Aquinas,

res quæ sunt in vniuerso perfectiores, debent excedere imperfectiores, eo modo quo possunt, nimirum siue magnitudine, siue multitudine. The things which are more perfect, must in the manner they may, exceede the more imperfect; to wit, eyther in magnitude or multitude. But, this, to wit, seemeth without wit; for that as Durand obiecteth, there should consequently be many Gods, which is against Faith; many Sunnes, against Philosophy; yea, more precious then other Stones, against experience.

*Ferrara, lib.
2. contra
gentes cap.
92.
Aquinas, 1.
part. quest.
50. ar. 3.*

CHAP. V.

Whether the Angelicall substance be of his owne nature subiect to corruption or no?

HEere the difficultie is not, whether supposing the decree of Almighty God for the immortalitie of all spirits, they are to loose their being or

no? For as no man can doubt of the immutabilitie of God, and infallibility of his diuine decree; so in no wise may any in this, which implieth, that as his obiect, onely therefore the question is, what is to be said of their own nature, whether the Angels be subiect to death or corruption as men and other creatures be?

In which consideration of the Angelicall nature, *Biel* holdeth them to be corruptible: so that, if they be incorruptible, it is by the extrinsecall will of their Creator, and not of their owne nature. First, for that the Apostle saith of God, *that he onely hath immortalitie: to wit*, of his owne nature. Secondly, in the sixt generall Counsell it seemeth to be defined. *Angelos & animas esse immortales non naturâ sed gratia: That the Angels and humane soules are not immortall by nature, but by grace.* Thirdly, as Saint Gregory saith, *Omnia in nihilum naturâ suâ conuertenda essent, nisi manus omnipotentis illa sustentaret. All things of their owne nature would be conuerted into nothing,*
vnlesse

*Biel. 2. sent.
dist. 2. quest.
1.*

1 Tim. 3.

*Symon. 6.
gener. act.
11.*

*Gregor. lib.
6. moral.
cap. 8.*

unlesse the hand of the omnipotent should
sustaine them.

Of Biels opinion also Casman may
seeme to be in his *Angelographia*; where,
after hee had proued the Angels sua
naturae esse incorruptibiles: yet not re-
membring what hee had said, or not
speaking distinctly what hee mea-
neth, presently after vttereth such
words, whereby hee seemeth to recall
his former resolution: *Immortalitas hac
Angelorum, mihi dependet a voluntate
Dei, quâ substantiam etiam corpoream &
materiâtam, uti in corporibus gloriosis
post resurrectionem, manifeste elucebit,
vult esse a corruptione immianem, ideoq;
eam perpetuo sustentat & tuctur.* The
immortalitie of the Angels (sayth he)
dependeth of the will of God, and
determination of their Creator, who
after the same manner that he decreed
the immortalitie of the glorified bo-
dies, so also of the Angelicall spirituall
natures; wherefore it may seeme that
hee holdeth that as the glorified bo-
dies be of their nature corruptible, so
in like manner the Angels and spirits:
yea,

Casman in
*Angelogra-
phia*, part.
1, cap. 10.

ritualium veram doctrina capaces, ad
 coram scriptum & intelligentium attem-
 perata & accommodata scriptione sua,
 hinc dantes mandata corporali &
 apostolica originem & procreationem
 explicare valuisse, that Moyses because
 hee saw the Hebrewes so rude, not ca-
 pable of the doctrine of spirituall mat-
 ters, therefore attempering his writings
 unto their capacite, for whom hee
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 ses* describeth in the first dayes worke,
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 but by reason of the rudenesse, and de-
 praved pronenesse to idolatrie of that
 now reprobate nation, in some sort ob-
 scured. Or lastly, that is most probable
 which

which *Procopius* in his Preface to *Genesis*, saith, that vnder the name of the Heauens, the Angels are also contained. *Quemadmodum enim non possunt acriem vel ignem, vel extremas, vel summam media continere: ita licet nullum nominatum Angelos nunciet, attamen sub celi nomine, quod Angelos continet, etiam Angelorum creationem nobis canite intuat:* and this is also the exposition of *Origines* in his first Homilie vpon *Genesis*.

CHAP. III.

Of the number of the Angels.

TO this *Aristotle* answereth, that they be onely *ad numerum orbium Caelestium*, as many as the Celestiall Orbes: the *Platonickes*, That they be many, indefinitely: *Rabbi Moses*, the Egyptian, that they be as many as be the Vertues of the Heauens, the Stars, and all other inferiour things: *Daniel*, that they be thousand thousands, and

Rab. Moses
lib. 2. cap. 7.

Dan. 7. 10.

Iob 25. 3.

Greg. in cap.
26. Iob 1.
lib. 17. cap.
9.

Daniel quo
supra.
Iob. Apoc. 7.
10.
Hier. in 7.
Dan.
Dion. cap.
9. Hier.

Caietan. 1.
part 4. 50.
ar. 3.

ten thousand thousands : *Thousand thousands ministred vnto him, and ten thousand thousands stood before him.* Iob that they be innumerable, *Is there any number in his armies?* as who would say, they be innumerable; *to wit,* vnto vs, not vnto God, nor in themselues, which is that which Saint Gregory auerreteth, *In cognitione humana rationis supernorum spirituum numerus non est. Quia quanta sit illa frequentia inuisibilis exercitus nescit.* Againe, *Supernorum spirituum seu ciuium numerum Deo esse numerabilem, hominibus verò demonstrari innumerabilem.* Wherefore Daniel and Saint Iohn in his Apocalipse when they seeme to define some determinate number of Angels, they accomodate themselues to the ordinary phrase of one determinate number for some very great vnkowne number, as Hierome and Dionysius doe expound.

Some Diuines, more bolde to pronounce then fortunate in prouing, doe say, that they be more in number then be all the materiall things created: for why? because according to Aquinas

res quæ sunt in uniuerso perfectiores, debent excedere imperfectiores, eo modo quo possunt, nimirum siue magnitudine, siue multitudine. The things which are more perfect, must in the manner they may, exceede the more imperfect; to wit, eyther in magnitude or multitude. But, this, to wit, seemeth without wit; for that as Durand obiectioneth, there should consequently be many Gods, which is against Faith; many Sunnes, against Philosophy; yea, more precious then other Stones, against experience.

Ferrara, lib. 2. contra gentes cap. 92. Aquin. 1. part. quest. 50. ar. 3.

CHAP. V.

Whether the Angelicall substance be of his owne nature subiect to corruption or no?

HEere the difficultie is not, whether supposing the decree of Almighty God for the immortalitie of all spirits, they are to loose their being or

no? For as no man can doubt of the immutabilitie of God, and infallibility of his diuine decree; so in no wise may any in this, which implieth, that as his object, onely therefore the question is, what is to be said of their own nature, whether the Angels be subiect to death or corruption as men and other creatures be?

In which consideration of the Angelicall nature, *Biel* holdeth them to be corruptible: so that, if they be incorruptible, it is by the extrinsecall will of their Creator, and not of their owne nature. First, for that the Apostle saith of God, *that he onely hath immortalitie: to wit*, of his owne nature. Secondly, in the sixt generall Counsell it seemeth to be defined. *Angelos & animas esse immortales non naturâ sed gratia: That the Angels and humane soules are not immortall by nature, but by grace.* Thirdly, as Saint Gregory saith, *Omnia in nihilum naturâ suâ conuertenda essent, nisi manus omnipotentis illa sustentaret.* All things of their owne nature would be conuerted into nothing, unlessse

*Biel. 2. sent.
dist. 2. quest.
1.*

1 Tim. 3.

*Symon. 6.
gener. act.
11.*

*Greg. lib.
6. moral.
cap. 8.*

vnlesse the hand of the omnipotent should
sustaine them.

Of Biels opinion also Casman may
seemeto be in his *Angelographia* where,
after hee had proued the Angels sua
naturæ esse incorruptibiles: yet not re-
membring what hee had said, or not
speaking distinctly what hee mea-
neth, presently after vttereth such
words, whereby hee seemeth to recall
his former resolution *Immortalitas hac
Angelorum, mihi dependet a voluntate
Dei, quâ substantiam etiam corpoream &
materiâtam, uti in corporibus gloriosis
post resurrectionem, manifeste elucebit,
vult esse a corruptione immanem, ideoq;
eam perpetuò sustentat & tuctur.* The
immortalitie of the Angels (sayth he)
dependeth of the will of God, and
determina ion of their Creator, who
after the same manner that he decreed
the immortalitie of the glorified bo-
dies, so also of the Angelicall spirituall
natures; wherefore it may seeme that
hee holdeth that as the glorified bo-
dies be of their nature corruptible, so
in like manner the Angels and spirits :
yea,

Casman in
Angelographia, part.
I. cap. 10.

Cardan lib.
10. de va-
rietate re-
rum.
Plutarch.
libro de ora-
culorum de-
fectu.

yea, this is more plainly the opinion of *Cardan*, *Plutarch*, and *Hesiod*: of whom the last assigned vnto some sorts of spirits named the *Genij*, assistants, and keepers of men, nine thousand, seauen hundred and twenty yeares tearme of life.

But these be poeticall fictions and dreames, altogether contrary both to naturall Philosophy and true Diuinity: for that both doe teach that no spirits whatsoeuer they be are subiect to corruption, but rather are according to their nature immortall: not that they be eternall *a parte ante*, as the schooles terme them, that is, created from the first imaginarie instant of eternitie, or that they had no beginning in time: but that being once created they require of their owne nature to be free from all mortalitie and corruption, and so are not absolutely eternall, (which is an attribute due vnto God) but one-lie *a parte post*, as the Diuines terme them, that is, though by the power of God they may be annihilated and conuerted againe into their nothing, of
which

which they were created; yet that, that if it should happen, as it is not impossible, should be contrary to that which their nature doth require, as also to that which euer is to happen. The reason of this Angelicall immortality or incorruption, is, for that they haue no matter or other dispositions there-to inclining, which men and other corruptible creatures haue. Wherefore after God by the mouth of his Prophet *David* had made mention of the Angels and Heauens, he concludeth of them both, *He hath established them for euer and euer, he hath made an ordinance which shall not passe.* So Christ our Sauiour denounceth against the wicked, *Mat. 25. Goe ye cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the Diuell and his Angels.* It is therefore most euident by the mouth of the Truth it selfe, that the Angels, both good and bad, are eternall as hath beene explicated *a parte post*: yea, if this be true, as most true it is, of the Soule of man, *Mat. 10.* and *Iohn 12.* much more it is true in the Angels, who are of a more perfect

Psal. 143.
6.

6. Synodus
generalis,
Act. 11.

fect and excellent nature, and consequently lesse subiect to corruption: wherefore I conclude with the sixt Synode, Act. 11. *Deumanimas & Angelos Sine dubio creasse immortales: That God hath created both the Soules and Angels immortall*, and in no wise of their owne nature subiect to corruption.

Dionisi. cap.
5. de diuini-
tas nominibus.
August. lib.
3. de contra.
Maximum.

So that where the Apostle saith, *that God onely hath immortalitie*, I answer, that it is to be vnderstood as *Dionysius* and Saint *Austine* doe interpret, of perfect immutabilitie, which is an attribute proper and onely due vnto his Diuine Maiestie: for that, saith *Austine*, as all mutation is a certaine death, so of the contrary side, perfect immutabilitie may rightly betearmed immortalitie: and thus much to the first obiection.

To the second I answer in like manner, that where the sixt Counsell defineth, *the Angels and Soules to be immortall, not by nature, but by grace*. that there as also in many other places of the ancient Fathers, by the name of
grace

grace is often vnderstood a natural gift, which God liberally and without any necessitie bestoweth; as *Bonauenture*, *Biel*, *Mediasilla*, *Marsilius*, *Sotus*, and amongst the Fathers *Austine* and *Hierome* do note, to be rightly vnderstood vnder the generall name of grace, defining grace to be *quodcunque donum a Deo nobis liberaliter datum*.

To the third likewise of *Gregory* I answere, that it is not his meaning that all things haue a naturall inclination, or are conuerted to nothing of their owne nature, but that of themselues they haue a certaine obedientiall power vnto it; by reason that of their owne nature they are dependent of another superiour power, by whose onely vertue they are now conserued, and might easily be brought to nothings; if that power should withdraw it selfe.

Richar. 2.
dist. 4. ar.
2. p. 2.
Bonauent.
ar. 1. p. 2.
Gab. quest.
1. ar. 2.
Marsil. in 2.
q. 4. ar. 1.
Sot. lib. 1.
de natura
& gratia,
cap. 2.
August. in
Psal. 144.
& epist. 95.
Hierom. 1.
dial. contra.
Pelag. &
epist. 139.
ad Cyprian.

CHAP.

CHAP VI.

Whether Angels be compound of matter and forme, or rather be pure spirits without any matter or body.

^a Bonavent.
2. diff. 3. p.
1. ar. 1. q. 1.
¶ 2.
Richar. ibid.
ar. 1. q. 3.
¶ ar. 2. q. 1.
¶ 2.
Aureolus a.
pud Capreo-
lum eadem
diff. quest.
1. ar. 2.
Zanchius
etiam hanc
reputat pro-
babiliorē
sententiam.

Bonaventure^a and Aureolus were of opinion that the Angels were made of a most pure fine materiall substance, farre exceeding the matter of all inferiour subiects : and that to this they had vnited a most perfect forme, farre also exceeding the forme or soule of man or any other Creature.

The reason which these Doctors giue, is, for that seeing the Angels be subiect to change and mutation, as necessarily must be the nature of a creature, they must of necessitie haue some matter, which onely is subiect and cause of all mutation.

Moreouer, this seemeth to be the opinion not onely of ancient Philosophers

phers, as of the Platonicks; but also of some Moderne, as of ^b *Simonius*, to whom all spirits, onely God excepted, are compound of two parts, whereof the one is truly a forme, spirituall and Diuine; the other matter, and ^c *Theodorus Zwingerus* in his Tables of the Æthicks, There is nothing created or existent, euen in our understanding, which hath not some matter and forme, which without doubt are very subtile, though true, neither can be seene but of acute eyes, and subtile understanding.

Which opinion may be confirmed out of the Fathers: so ^d *Origenes* in his second Booke *περὶ ἀρχῶν* holdeth, that no thing lineth without a body, but onely the blessed Trinitie. *Tertullian*, that the Angels be *corporis alicuius licet non carne preediti*; of some body, though not of flesh. *Lactantius*, That they be subtile spirits or ayre: *Cassian*, That they haue a body by which they subsist, but yet a more subtile one then ours. *Rupertus Tuitienfis*, that from their creation they haue ioyned unto them most subtile bodies: yea, this was certainly held

^b *Simonius*
apud *Cas-*
man, in
Angelogra-
phia, part.
1. cap. 4.
^c *Zwingerus*
in *Tabulis*
Æthick.

^d *Origenes*
lib. 2. *περὶ*
ἀρχῶν.
Tertullian.
lib. de *carne*
Christi.
Lactant, lib.
2. *insist*.
15.
Cassian, lib.
7. *collat. cap.*
13.
Rupert. Tui-
tienfis, lib.
1. in *Ge-*
nesim, cap.
10.

*Basil. apud
Epiph. Phil.
& Theod.
de Basil.
Faust. Rhe-
giensis Epist.
ad Paulum.
Proclus Phi-
losophus in
Clementis
Theologicois.
Malum tuu
apud Iohann.
Cant. 4. 2.
num. orat. 2.
contra Ma-
hom. &
Aeneas Sil-
uius epist. ad
Murbis.
Turcarum
principem.
Psellus lib.
de Demon.
4 Gen. 6. 2.
e Iustinus
Martyr in
priori Apo-
logia pro
Christianis.
Clemens A-
lex. lib. 3.
 Stromatum.
Tertul lib.
de habit.
Aristot. 12.
met. cap. 6.
8. et ultimo.*

held of *Basilides, Faustus, Rhegiensis, Proclus, Psellus, Augustinus Niphus, Averroes*, and many other, both Philosophers and Divines.

The first reason of this, is of *Tertulian* and *Lactantius*, out of the 4 sixt Chapter of Genesis, where it is said that the Sonnes of God, seeing the Daughters of men that they were faire had accessse vnto them: but by the Sonnes of God, according to the exposition of *Iustine the Martyr, Clemens, Alexander, Tertullian, Cyrillus, Alex, Lactantius* and *Eusebius*, are to be vnderstood the Angels; who, as these Fathers holde, had accessse vnto those women, which in no wise were possible if the Angels had no bodies.

Secondly, for that the diuels, who retaine as yet their Angelicall substance, are tormented in a corporall fire, which seemeth impossible if they had no corporall matter or substance.

But such neuerthelesse is the euidence of the contrary opinion, that euen the Philosophers onely by naturall reason, did attaine vnto it, to wit, that

that the Angels be altogether immateriall, pure spirits, without concretion of matter or bodies. So *Dionisius* doth tearme them, *materia liberos & incorporeales*: Free from matter, and without bodies: and *Ignatius*, *incorporall Creatures*. The like hath *Basilus*, *Nazianzene*, *Nissenus*, *Chrisostome*, *Epiphanius*, *Theodoretus* and *Fulgentius*, who most evidently demonstrate this conclusion, first, out of the Scripture, *Matth. 8. Luke 8. Psal. 103. Ephes. 6.* where the Angels be absolutely called spirits, and is confirmed out of the Counsell of *Lateran*, vnder *Innocentius 3.* where is sayd, *Deum omnipotenti sua virtute utranq; condidisse creaturam spiritualem & corporalem*: that is, The Angels and humane soules, who be pure spirits, and all other creatures who be altogether materiall or corporall. The reason or congruence which the Diuines giue for this, is onely the will of Almighty God, declared sufficiently in his word, and that otherwise the world without so perfect a creature as the Angell were not complete and perfect.

D

To

Dion. c. 4. de diuinis nominibus.

Ignatius ad Trallianos.

Basil. hom. quod Deus non sit aliter maiorum.

Naz. orat. 2. de Theologia sub finem.

Nissen. lib. de vita Moysi.

Chrisost. hom. 22. in Genesim. Epiphani. contra hereticos, lib. 26.

Theod. lib. de diuinis decretis.

*Athan. q. 9.
ad Antioch.
Chrysoſt.
hom; 22. in
Gen.
August. lib.
15. de ciui-
tate Dei.
cap. 22. &
23.
Cum alijs
patribus
communiter.*

To that consequently which was obiected out of Genesis the sixth Chapter, I answere with *Athanasius*, *Chrysostome*, and Saint *Austine*, that there, by the sonnes of God are not to be vnderstood the Angels, but the sonnes of *Seth*; for that they had a more particular care of the seruice of the true God, then commonly other men, who then were giuen onely vnto licentious life, and worldly matters, and were therefore called the sonnes of men.

In like manner I answere to the second obiection: for that I will not heere dispute whether the fire of Hell be corporall or no, but supposing it to be, I answere, that although the Diuels haue no bodies, yet by the omnipotent power of the Almighty they may be tormented with a corporall fire, according as shall be declared, how, and in what manner, in his due place: yea, if that argument proued any thing, it should also proue the same in humane soules, for that they also are pure spirits, wherefore eyther it proueth too much, or nothing at all.

CHAP. VII.

Whether Angels and Diuels doe appeare really or no?

MAny, as *Aquinas* doth testifie, I. p. q. 51. ar. 2. haue beene of opinion, that there is not any such true apparitions of Angels and Spirits as euery day wee reade and heare of: but that such Visions rather consisted in the Melancholy disposition, humor, and imagination of fearefull, sicke, or apprehensive persons, then in any realitie of the representation of the object; and after this sort they endeououred to answer the Scripture, which telleth vs of many such apparitions and visions.

But yet neuerthelesse, the contrary opinion is so manifest in the Scriptures, that many doubt not to say, that it is a matter of Faith. For first, the Scripture doth make such mention of apparitions of Angels, which could not be but reall, for that they were

*Aquin. I. p.
quest. 51.
ar. 2.*

*Aug. l. 3. de
Trin. cap. 10
& seq. &
lib. 15. de
ciuit. Dei,
cap. 23.
Epiph. con-
tra Heres.
26. post me-
dium.*

seene indifferently, and after the same manner, in one and the same time, of many; which is not wont to happen, when the object is not really but onely imaginarily present. Wherefore S. *Austine* saith, it were impudencie to denie such like apparitions of Angels.

But peradventure some will object that of *Epiphanius* against the 26. Heresie; *Quomodo potest Damon, qui spiritus est immundus & incorporeus, corpora assumere?* To this I answer, that *Epiphanius* doubted not of the thing, but of the manner how such apparitions might be: for hee speaketh of a strange manner of conception, by the receiuing of corporall seede from the Diuell, confuting a most frivolous fable of certaine Heretiques called the Gnostickes, who said that one of the Diuels had conceived, after that manner, many sonnes by the Prophet *Helias*.

CHAP. VIII.

How Angels doe really appeare.

SVpposing that it is a thing most certaine, that both good Angels and bad doe really appeare, it remaineth to know the manner how.

To which point *Aureolus*, related by *Capreolus*, doth answere, that this is by vniting himselfe to some matter, as our soules are vnited to our bodyes. But certainly this opinion is altogether improbable; for that seeing an Angell (as all Diuines doe grant) is a perfect, complete substance, hee cannot be vnited to any other thing, as forme vnto matter, or as our soules which are but partiall causes of the whole are vnited vnto our bodies, as to the other parts.

The second opinion, as concerning the vnion betwixt the body assumed by the Angell, and the Angell, is of *Tertullian*, who in his booke *de carne*

D 3

Christi,

*Aureo. apud
Capreolus 2
d. 3. quæst. 1
art. 2.*

*Tert. de. de
car. Christi.*

Christi, holdeth that after the same manner, that the second person of the blessed Trinitie is personally vnited vnto our nature, so the Angels be vnto the bodies which they assume; onely this difference hee putterth, that seeing they came not to dye, as Christ did, that therefore they were not said to be borne as our Sauour was; *non venerant mori, ideo nec nasci.*

But this in no wise is to be deemed probable, but rather lesse then the former. First, for that the former was an assumption and worke of an infinite person, which many doe hold to be impossible to any creature, how excellent soeuer, according as shall be demonstrated in due place and time. Secondly, for that all Fathers and Diuines, as well ancient as moderne, doe hold the Incarnation and Hypostaticall vnion betweene the Word of God and mans nature to be most singular and admirable: how then may it be thought to be common and ordinarie in the apparitions of Angels, that there be such a kinde of Hypostaticall

staticall vnion betweene them and the bodies assumed, as was and is betweene God and man.

The truth therefore of the manner of these apparitions is, that which the common opinion of Diuines doth declare in the second of the Sentences, the 8. *Dist.* that therefore an Angell is said to assume a body, because hee is onely extrinsecally vnited vnto it; *tanquam motor mobili*, as the mouer vnto the thing apt to receiue motion, impressed into it, in which, and by which also the Angell is represented in some shape or forme, as it pleaseth him; and is moued together with the same body, as though they were but one and the same thing, constitute of matter and forme as man is, doing all things almost as though there were truly present, the man, beast, or any other thing which it liketh him to represent vnto vs by the body assumed. Neyther is that other imagination of *Tertullian* of any likelihood, *to wit*, that the Angels doe create of nothing the bodies which they assume, and re-

Theol. com. 2
Sent. dist. 8.

present themselves by: for that creation is the worke of almighty God alone, and not possible to any Creature; vnlesse that it be taken as instrument, which also is in question; but in no case as principall agent in any such production.

The manner therefore of these so strange apparitions and effects is, by the forming of a body of ayre, so condensing and tempering both the quantitie, qualities, and substance, that it may be apt to receiue all manner of colours, formes, and figures, like as in the clouds by the diuers raritie and densitie of them, doe often appeare diuers kindes of colours; yea, most strange representations of men and beasts; yea, of whole armies one fighting against another.

*Vide Comb.
de Meteor.*

CHAP. IX.

Of the apparitions of Angels both in the Old and New Testament, and how they were made, both when they represented themselves onely, as also when they came in the person of God.

AS concerning the apparitions made in the Old Testament vnto *Moses*, *Iacob*, and others of the Patriarches, it hath beene the ordinary position of many Fathers, that they were made by the second Person of the blessed Trinitie, who for that time and purpose tooke a body vnto him, not by reall Hypostaticall vnion, as in his Incarnation, but onely according as hath beene before declared, to haue beene in the visions of Angels: so *Clemens* in the fift Booke of the Apostolicall Constitutions, c. 21. *Leo* Epistola 13. ad pulcheriam Augustiam, * *Hilarius*, *Irenaeus*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Chrisostome*, *Theodore*t,

* *Id.* 12. de
Trinit.
Amb. 1. de
fide cap 9.
Iren. lib. 4.
cap. 37.
Naz. tract.
de fide.
Athanasius
q. 12. ad
Antioch.
& *Serm.* 4.
contra *Ar-*
rianos.
Chrisost. in
Gen. 32.

Theodoretus
 q. 88. in.
Genesim.
Euf. 2. cont.
Ennium.
Niceph. l. 1.
cap. 5.
Tertul. lib.
cont. Prax.
cap. 14.
Clem. Alex.
1. Pedag.
cap. 7.
Iustin. Dial.
cū Tryphon.
Eusebius 1.
de demonstr.
cap. 5.
Concil. Syr.
Anathema-
tismo 14.

Dionys. de
cælest. Hier.
cap. 4.
Aug. 3. in.
cap. 10. &
seq.
Anselm &
Aquinas ad
Gal. 3.

Theodoret, Basil, Nicephorus, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Iustine, Theophylact, Oecumenius, and Primasius: yea, these three last Fathers, with Saint *Ambrose*, doe enterprete that of the Apostle to the Galathians, 3. cap. [*In manu Mediatoris*] in the hand of a Sauiour, that is, of the Sauiour of the world, Christ: although that *Primasius* is of opinion that, there, *Mediator* may be vnderstood of *Moses* who was Mediator betweene God and his people.

Neuerthelesse, it seemeth much more probable (for in this there is nothing altogether certaine out of the Scriptures) that the apparitions made vnto the Patriarches of the Old Testament, were made in the person of the Sonne of God, but not by him, but by Angels whom hee destined for this purpose in his place.

This is the opinion of *Dionysius Areopagita, Austine, Anselme, and Aquinas*, and may be almost evidently proved by the conferring of one place of Scripture with another, as Saint *Austine* doth: for in the second chapter of

of *Exodus*, wee reade, *Deum apparuisse Moyſi in Rubo ignis*; that God appeared vnto *Moses* in a buſh of thornes ſet on fire. And in the 19. of *Exodus*, that hee gaue him the Law, and yet neuertheſſe it is plaine out of the Scripture that thoſe apparitions and viſions were effected by the miniſterie of the Angels. *Heb. 2. Si ſermo qui per Angelos dictus eſt, factus eſt firmus*; If the word giuen by the Angels, be confirmed and made ſure. And in the third to the Galathiâns; *The Law was giuen by Angels, in the hand of the Mediator*, to wit, *Moses*, as Saint *Auſtine* interpreteth; yea, Saint *Stephen*, in the 7. Chapter of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, doth plainly affirme that it was an Angell that appeared to *Moses* in the Bramble; though this apparition, as many other the like, are ſaid to be viſions of Almighty God, becauſe they are made in his perſon.

But peraduenture ſome may with no leſſe reaſon then iuſt curioſitie demaund, how then ſhall we know when the apparitions be in perſon of God him-

himselfe, and when some Angell onely appeareth in his owne person. To this I answere, as the Philosophers are wont in diuers difficulties, *ex subiecta materia*, that is, by the matter and manner of the things done and represented: for if the matter be proper onely vnto God, then it is a cleare case that the embassage of the Angell is from God, and in Gods person, if so be that hee which appeareth be one of the blessed Angels, and not Sathan, vvho oftentimes transfigureth himselfe into an Angell of light; the infallible signes and proprieties of which shall afterward be declared: but if the thing done or represented doth not onely appertaine vnto the Angell, or may properly be said belonging vnto him, without all doubt then the Angell appeareth in his owne person: of the first sort of apparitions wee haue an euident example in the third Chapter of *Genesis*, when it is said that God appeared walking towards the South; or, *post meridiem*; and when the Law was giuen to *Moses*: The second also is no lesse

lesse manifest by the example of the Angell who ioyned himselfe, as companion in his iourney, with yong *Tobias*, and of happie *Gabriel* sent vnto the blessed Virgin, to declare vnto her the embassage of the Incarnation of the Sonne of God : and thus much as touching the apparitions of the Olde and New Testament in generall, as also of the Old in particular.

Now it remaineth that in like manner wee examine those of the Law of Grace more particularly : amongst which, that which hath most difficultie is, the apparition of the holy Ghost in the forme of a Doue, *Mathew* the third Chapter; and in fiery Tongues, *Acts* the first: in which point *S. Chrysostome*, or hee who is the Author of the imperfect *Vvorke* (as it is commonly tearmed) vpon *S. Mathew*, in the third Chapter, doth iudge that those bodies were immediately formed, and assumpst of God himselfe, and not by the ministerie of Angels, Of the contrary side, *Saint Austine lib. 4. de Trin. cap. vlt.* and in his *Epistles*,
Epist.

Epist. 102. thinketh it more probable that these and the like bodies were framed by the Angels immediately, and not by God himselfe, though by his command.

This question about the apparition of the holy Ghost in forme of a Doue, hath the greater difficultie, for that it dependeth of another of no lesse doubt; *to wit*, whether that was a true and quicke Doue, or no? which if it vvas as *Thomas Aquinas*, 3. *part.* q. 39. *ar.* 7. *S. Ambrose lib. de ūs qui inuit.* *Mist. cap.* 4. and of *Tertullian lib. de carne Christi*, then the former opinion of *Chrysostome*, or the vncertaine Author may seeme more probable; seeing that an Angell could not by himselfe make any such quicke Creature, but onely as they terme it, *per accidens*, *applicando actiua passiuis*; and so consequently, at least could not be effected with such speede by the Angell onely.

But if so be that this apparition was not by the representation of a true Doue indeede, but onely by her forme and shape, as *S. Austine* seemeth to hold,

hold, as also *Chrysostome* and *Caietane*, the second opinion will appeare more probable, *to wit*, that this apparition was effected by the immediate concurrence of the Angell, and not of God; as particular agent in the effect of the Doue: but onely of the graces represented, and produced then in the soules of the Apostles. For as the Tongues were no true Tongues, but onely the formes and figures of Tongues, so it seemeth more conformable to the holy Text, that the Doue was no true Doue, but the figure of a true Doue; and principally for that the Scripture saith, that it was *sicut Columba, vel tanquam Columba*, like a Doue.

To the end, that as *S. Chrysostome* saith, *Non veritas sed similitudo monstraretur*; that it might be knowne not to haue beene the truth, but the similitude. And againe, *Hom. 12. in Mat. Spiritus sanctus non assumpsit naturam columba, idcirco Euangelista non in natura sed in specie columba dixit, nec unquam sed tunc solam in ea visus est figura: The holy Ghost (saith hee) rooke not*

Chrys. hom. 12. in Mar. cum. Caiet. 3. p. q. 39. ar. 7.

Mat. 3. Mar. 1. Luk 3. Iohn. 1. Chrys. hom. 3. in Mar. & hom. 12. in Math.

not the nature of a Dowe, and therefore the Euangelist saith not in the nature, but in the forme or shape of a Dowe.

C H A P. X.

Whether, when Angels, or other Spirits, doe appeare in shape of man, or other liuing creatures, they be alwayes true and reall Visions, or rather but onely imaginary, by some illusion happening in our senses.

THe like question is wont to be proposed about the visions and apparitions by Witchcraft, Iugling, Coniuring, and the like Arts of the Diuell, which surpassing mans ordinarie force, must needs proceede of some higher power.

In these two Questions (vvhich indeede are but one in effect and answer) I finde three opinions: of which, the first affirmeth, that not onely all such apparitions, but also all their
workes

workes and effects to be counterfeited, vaine, false, or but onely phantasticall and apparent. This was the sentence of *Pliny* in his 30. Booke of his naturall Historie, cap. 1. & 2.

But against this so vniuersall and peremptory conclusion, the scripture is most cleare in diuers places. Yea, it is most certaine that Magicke doth oftentimes produce such effects, as by the changing of the senses, and illuding the vnderstanding, wee may experiment euery day the falsitie, and couenage thereof: so on the contrary side, we haue not onely experience but Scripture and naturall reason to shew vs the truth and realtie of some effects wrought in the fore-said cases, both by good Angels and bad, or by men who haue had some kind of compact with them. So the Magicians of *Pharaoh* truely conuerted the rods into Serpents, in the seauenth Chapter of the Booke of **Exodus*, according to the opinion of *Thomas*, and *S. Austine*; yea, otherwise Art Magicke would not be so seuerely prohibited by all Law both

E

Diuine

Plin. lib. 30
Hist. natur.
cap. 1. & 2.

* *Exod. 7.*
Thom. 9. 6.
de potentia.
ar. 3. ad 8.
& 9. 16 de
maio. ar. 9.
ad. 10.
Aug. lib. 3.
de Trin. c. 7.
& 8.

Diuine and Humane, Canonick and Ciuill, as it is; by diuine Law it is interdicted, *Dent. 28. Lenit. 19. & 20.* In the Canon Law, in the *decret. 26. quest. 5. Can. Si quis aliarum.* By the Ciuill Law, *Cod. de maleficiis, & Mathematicis per totum*: principally, *l. culpa, l. nullus, & l. nemo*; in which such like Arts are prohibited vnder paine of death.

The second opinion is, that all the fore-said visions, apparitions, and their effects doe really happen, as they seeme to doe vnto our imagination: but this opinion is manifestly conuinc'd by Saint *Austine, Thomas, Abulensis, Delrius, Caietane*, and many others, who haue written vpon this subiect very largely, and therefore I remit my Reader vnto them, and to experience it selfe in this point.

Wherefore the truth of this matter is, that sometimes the effects be reall, sometimes onely imaginarie, onely to delude men, and bring them to greater inconueniencies and absurdities in matters of greater moment, in which the

Aug. 18. de ciuit. c. 18. De socijs libris. D.T. q. 6. de potentia. ar. 5. ad 6. & q. 16. de malis. ar. 9. ad 2. Abulens. q. 354. in cap. 13. Gen. Caiet. 2. 2. q. 95. ar. 3.

the Diuell pretendeth to delude vs,
and so bring vs to vtter perdition.

But here peradventure some may
inquire after what sort the Diuell doth
delude men in the fore-said cases. To
this I answer vvith *Alexander Hales*,
and other Diuines, 2.*Sen. Dist.* 8. that
this may happen three manner of
wayes. The first, by some immutation
or change about the obiect proposed
vnto vs, *to wit*, by adding to it some-
what, by which it may appeare di-
stinct, and of another forme or figure
then it seemed before, although in-
deed it be nothing changed in it selfe.

The reason of this may be, for that
as the Schooles teach with *Thomas*,
q. 110. ar. 3. & q. 111. ar. 3. the An-
gels, both good and euill, haue such
superiour power ouer all corporall
things that they (if God doe but leave
them onely to their naturall force and
power) can transport them whither so-
euer they please, with great facility and
quicknesse. They may therefore with
no lesse might and naturall vertue of
their will and vnderstanding, frame

Alex part.
2. q. 43.
manb. 3. d. 8

Aquin. 1. p.
q. 110. ar. 3
& *quast.*
111. ar. 3.

the body or bodies of whatsoeuer it them please, of ayre, or any other matter, with great facilitie : and so consequently they may make seeme vnto vs, that things many thousand miles absent, appeare here present, and that in a moment almost, by reason of the similitude which the Diuell can make of any corporall thing. Yea, on the contrarie side, by the same fraud and deceit, hee maketh things to seeme altogether changed into other formes or shapes, by reason of other things by which the Diuell deluding vs, doth compasse the said object in, in which hee pretendeth to deceiue vs: after which manner Saint *Austine lib. 18. de ciuitate Dei, cap. 18.* is of opinion, that such were the metamorphosis and change of the Arcadians, who seemed transmuted into Wolves, and of the companions of *Diomedes* turned into Birds, as also of the companions of *Ulysses* changed by the famous Witch *Circe* into Beasts.

The second way by which this deceit of the Diuell may happen, is without

*Aug. lib. 18.
de ciuitate Dei, cap. 18.*

out any change of the obieſt it ſelfe, but rather by the immutation of the organ of the ſenſe, which the diuell, or Magitian by his meanes, may eaſily infect with ſuch an humour or qualitie, that the thing may appeare farre otherwiſe then it is indeede. For ſo wee ſee daily, that to him who hath his tongue or palate infected by ſickneſſe, or any other accident, vvith a Cholericke or Melancholie humour, that, that which indeede is ſweete, doth ſeeme ſower or bitter. So, much more then, may the diuell deceiue vs by the infection of any of the Organs of our Senſes, by how much more powerfull he is then the reſt of all other naturall cauſes, if God doe but permit him to doe that which by nature hee is able to bring to paſſe: for, as before his fall hee was equall vnto the bleſſed Angels in nature, ſo now after his ſinne, hee hath (at leaſt in matters of this nature) alike power and force both of vnderſtanding and will: which, in Spirits, are their onely operative

E 3 powers,

powers, or not really distinct from them.

The third way, by which the diuell and his ministers may deceiue vs, is, by changing of the species, or spiritualized similitudes, by which wee see, or by the meane or instrument by which we should perceiue the obiect. For that hee knowing, and penetrating most perfectly the nature, proprieties, and effects of euery thing, can frame his operation accordingly, making the sensible species which are in the phantasie passe vnto the exterior senses; yea, he may with great facilitie so order and change the phansie, that as it happeneth to those that dreame, wee shall thinke wee see those things which in no wise we doe: and hereupon come so many wise women, extaties and rapt of people, who giuen to too much imagination, thinke verily they see visions of God, Angels, Saints, Diuels, or other infinite strange things, according to the humour then predominering in them, which indeede they neuer saw.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

*What kinde of operations can the
Angels worke in the bodies
which they are said to assume.*

TO this I answer briefly, that seeing the Angels are neuer vnited as soules or formes vnto the bodies they assume, that in no wise they can exercise any vitall action, but onely those which belong vnto motion, sound, and other like, which doe not pertaine vnto life, as inward cause of such an action: so that no pure Spirit can in any body which it assumeth, eyther eate, see, smell, taste, touch, ingender, laugh, weepe, speake, or doe any other thing truely or vitally: for that as the Philosopher saith, in his first Booke *de somno & vigiliis*; *Eius est operatio, cuius est potentia*; to him belongeth the operation or act, vwho hath the facultie. Wherefore, as hee that hath no eares cannot heare, ney-

*Aristot. de
somno &
vigiliis.
lib. 1.*

ther hee that wanteth vnderstanding vnderstand; and so of all the like vitall powers : so the Angels, seeing that they haue no corporall vitall powers in the bodies they adioyne vnto themselves, it is not possible they should truely exercise the acts of any such externall powers; though true it is, they can so imitate man and other liuing creatures, in laughing, weeping, speaking, touching, and the like, that almost it is impossible for a man to discern their motions from vitall actions.

Tob. 2.

Aug. lib 15
de ciuit. Dei
cap. 22. &
Epist. 49 ad
deogratias.

But peraduenture some may obiekt the Historie of *Raphael*, in the booke of *Tobias*, where the Angell eat with *Tobias*, and behaued himselfe in all manner of actions as though hee had beene a man Secondly, Saint *Austine* in his 15. Booke *de ciuitate Dei*, cap. 22, and in his 49. Epistle *Ad Deo gratias*, in the answere to the first question, doth constantly asseuere, that Angels haue sometimes beene knowne to eate, and that truely; although they did not conuert the meate which they receiued into their owne substance; and with

with this example, the same Saint and Doctor confirmeth the true eating of our Saviour, after his glorious resurrection, in one of his apparitions; *Luke* the 24. and *John* the 21. Chapter, though after the same manner as hath beene said of the Angels, his body was not nourished with the food which it pleased his Maiestie to receive, because his body now was immortall and incorruptible, and consequently nothing subiect to be converted into his sacred substance; as neyther is it subiect to any decrease, or increase and augment: although true it is, that *Scotus* did admit the contrary, affirming peremptorily the true vitall eating of Angels.

Luc. 24.
Iohn. 21.

Scotus 2.
dis. 3. qu. 2.

But peradventure if the matter be more vrgently sifted, and considered duly, we shall find the question rather to consist in the manner of speaking, then in any reality of moment: for if eating be taken for the common action vsed in gnawing and breaking our meate, by the motion of our tongue, and other parts conueyed into our stomackes,

mackes, so certainly it may be thought true eating, that of the Angels in the fore-said places of Scripture, and *Austine*. But if we take eating properly for a vitall action, proceeding from a vitall facultie, by which the meate may be conuerted into the substance of the receiuer, so it is not possible that any Angel or Spirit do eate truely, but onely in shew and appearance, and therefore the Angel *Raphael* in the 12. chapter of *Tobias*, *videbatur quidem, inquit, vobiscum manducare & bibere; sed ego inuisibili vtor cibo; I seemed vnto you to eate and drinke with you; but I vse an inuisible meat*: as who would say, though I seemed to eate with you, yet I did not; for that my meate is onely spirituall, and not corporal, as yours is. Neuertheless the action which our Sauour vsed, *Luke* the 24. and *John* the 21. was true eating, because it was done by the vitall power and facultie of man, into whose substance it might haue beene conuerted, though actually it was not, because the body of our Sauour being now incorruptible, had no neede thereof.

CHAP. XII.

*Of the Angelicall place : and first,
whether it may be truly said,
that Angels be in any place or
no ?*

Divers ancient Doctors(as *Aquinas* teacheth in the first Booke of his Sentences, *Dist. 37. q. 3. ar. 1.*) were of opinion, that the Angels could not in any wise, be in any place : their reason was, because that the Angels being pure spirits, and nothing else, they could haue no bodies or quantitie, and consequently could not be in any place, which onely is effect of quantitie; yea, furthermore, seeing that they are endued onely with the faculties of will and vnderstanding, it seemeth they cannot worke any effect in any corporall thing; so that, by reason of that operation, they should be said to be in it, as in place. For that the action and operation of the Angel
being

Aristot. lib.
4. phys. text.
43. & Au-
gust. lib. 8.
sup. Gen.
ad literam.
cap. 20. 21.
& 26.

Is. 14.

Luc. 10.

being altogether spirituall, as he him-
selfe is. How should it be reason or
cause that it may be truely said, that
thereby hee is in any corporall place?
Thirdly, this is confirmed with the au-
thoritie of *Austine* and *Aristotle*, who
deny Angels to be in any place, and
affirmes *sola corpora esse in loco*.

Neuerthelesse, these arguments do
not so vrge, as that we may deny that
which we haue so clearly out of holy
Writ; *to wit*, that Angels may in some
sort be sayd to be in place. For first,
in the 14. Chapter of *Isay* wee reade,
demaunded of the Diuell, (who no
doubt, as yet retaineth his Angelicall
nature and spirituall substance) *Quo-
modo cecidisti de caelo Lucifer?* How
fellest thou from heauen, O Lucifer?
If therefore the diuell fell from Hea-
uen, consequently he was there before
his fall, and consequently in some
place. Also, *Luke* the 10. Chapter,
*Videbam Satanam tanquam fulgur de
caelo cadentem*. I saw Satan fall as a
lightning from Heauen. Yea, more
vrgently in the 12. Chapter of the
Apoca-

Apocalipse, *And their place was not any more found in Heauen.* It is therefore supposed the Angels had some place in Heauen from whence they fell. Many other places of Scripture also there be, by which it is manifest that both the good Angels and bad, passe from place to place.

Secondly, the holy Fathers, *Athanasius, Ambrose, Gregory, Nazianzene, Gregory the great,* and our second *Austine Bede*, doe speake of this, as of a matter most certaine.

Thirdly, it is proued by reason; for where a thing is really present, there it is in some sort as in place: wherefore, seeing that Angels be in the world, it must necessarily follow, that they be there in some sort, as in some place. And that they be really present in some place also, it is manifest, for that (as the Philosopher saith) they moue the Heauens, not as finall causes onely (as some say) but also as reall efficient causes of their motion; therefore it is not possible but they must be of necessitie present in the Heauens: after the same
fort.

Apoc. 12.

Athanasius
epist. ad Se.
rapinam
non longe
a fine.

Ambrosius lib.

1. de spiritu
sancto, cap.

9. & 10.

Naz. orat.

2. de Theo-
logia.

Greg. mag.

lib. 2. moral.

c. 3.

Beda lib. 1.

in Lucam c.

1.

Aristot. 1. 2.

metaph.

fort they are most truely sayd to worke in many other things, as we finde often in the Scriptures: how therefore may it be denied but that they are present to thole things wherein they imploy their operation, motion and power?

Wherefore, according to this, I answer to the contrary arguments, that they proue nothing else but that the Angels be not commensuratiuely in place, or as corporall substances be, by reason of their quantitie: but that they be not spirittually in such sort, as after shall be explicated, this in no wise they proue; and according to this distinction, are to be vnderstood also the authorities of *Boetius*, *Aristotle*, and *Augustine*, alledged for the contrary opinion.

A generall distinction for the answer of all the contrary arguments.

Boetius. Aristotle. & Augustine. explicated.

CHAP. XIII.

How, and in what sort and manner, are Angels in any place.

BOth Diuinitie and Philosophie do teach vs, that the Angels are euery one in his place definitiuelly, as the Philosophers tearme it; that is to say, so in this place, that he is not euery where; for that to be euery where, onely belongeth to the immensity of Almighty God; who filleth all places: Euery one therefore (I say) of the Angels, according to the greater or lesse perfection of his substance, hath allotted him his spheare or quantitie (if so to explicate the matter, I may tearme it) of place, greater then which hee can not naturally possesse. For as wee see the fire, the more perfect it is in operation or quantity & puritie of his substance, the more perfect heate it hath correspondent vnto it, and so consequently greater or lesse is his spheare of actiuitie, according to the said puritie

Psal. 139.

The Angell the more excellent hee is in nature, the more excellent proprieties and Spheare of actiuitie & place are due vnto him.

Apoc. 72.

Athanas.
Gre. Mag.

ritie of his substance, and intention of heate: So after the same manner, the more excellent euery Angell is, in the puritie of his spirituall substance or working, the more excellent proprieties hee hath consequently accompanying, as also a greater or lesse spheare of actiuitie and place, which he may possesse and worke in.

First therefore; that Angels haue their places so defined, that they be not euery where; it is certaine *Apoc. 12.* where it is said of the Diuels, *Their place was no more found in Heauen:* Secondly, the holy Fathers, *Athanasius; Gregory*, and diuers others, doe in this sense affirme, that the Angels are *Circumscripti in loco*: not that they haue as corporall things haue, one part of them answerable to one part of place, and another, to another part of place; but that they are *disiunctiue*, confined so to one Spheare, greater or lesse, according to their perfection, that though naturally they may be in lesse then their due, yet they cannot be in greater: in lesse they can be, I say, because

because that hauing free-will, as they may easily worke lesse in any object then their vttermoſt power were able to do, ſo by the ſame freeneſſe of their will, they may be in leſſe place then their naturall perfection doth require, according to his vttermoſt power: but as the fire, which hath but foure degrees of heate, cannot haue ſo perfect an effect as that which hath eight, becauſe no facultie can worke beyond his Spheare of actiuitie, ſo in the Angels; that Angell which, for exſample ſake, hath but halfe the perfection which *Michaell* hath, cannot naturally extend his Spheare ſo farre, that hee can be equally, in as great a ſpace, as *Michaell* can be.

True it is that *Durand* (otherwiſe a learned Schooleman) was of opinion, that the Angelicall ſubſtance was *ubique eo quidem modo, quo conuenit ei eſſe loco*: In euery place, after the manner that it was in place; *neque eſſe magis in uno loco quam in alio*; and that it was no more in one place then in another. But this, of other more mo-

F

derne

*Durand. 1.
diſt. 37. par.
2. illius diſt.
queſt. 1.
holdeth e-
uery Angel
to be euery
where.*

Ambros. lib.
1. de spiritu
santo. cap. 7.
Athan. in
epist. ad Se-
rapionem.
Hierom. &
Cassiod. in
Psal. 138.
Naz. or. 2.
de Theol.
Greg. lib. 2.
moral. c. 3.

Durands
 arguments
 for the An-
 gelical vbi-
 quity, or
 being in
 all places.

derne Diuines, is condemned, and that worthily of errour. For that vbi-quity, as I haue already touched, is an attribute onely of Almighty God (as commonly all the Fathers doe teach, in particular, *Ambrose*, *Athanasius*, *Hierome* and *Cassiodorus*: and for that no man did euer doubt, but Angels be moued locally from place to place, as the same Doctōrs also doe teach, namely, *Gregory*, *Nazianzene*, *Athanasius* and *Gregory* the great: which in no wise were possible if they were as God is *ubique*, in every place.

Neither doe the arguments of *Durand* for the contrary part proue any thing: whereof the first is, if the Angelicall substance be not euery where, the reason must needes be because it is finite or limited; but if this were any impedimnet, then it would also hinder that he might not be in any place, but in that onely, which is equally answerable to the perfection of his substance: wherefore seeing that this is not so, but that he may be in lesse, yea, to the Angell no place can be equall

or

or determinate, seeing that he is a pure spirit, and therefore not apt that any place which hath parts should be apt or correspondent for him which hath none at all: therefore it followeth (saith *Durand*) that the Angell is no more present in one place then in another, but in all the world, and in all places equally.

His second argument is, for that the Angell can worke in euery place; therefore seeing his being in place, is answerable to his operation, yea, that he is in place onely by his operations and effects, as he can operate & worke euery where, as it pleaseth him; so it seemeth that he may be present euery where, at least if he will extend his operations to euery place.

Thirdly, to these discourses of *Durand*, may be added the authoritie of two most learned Diuines and Scripturists, *Origen* and *Tertullian*, who both affirme *Angelum esse ubique*, that the Angels are euery where.

To these arguments I answere, and first to the first, that true it is that the

Origen, lib.
1. in *Iob*,
circa mediū
explicans
illud cir-
cuius ter-
ram.
Iob 1. cap.
Tertul. in
Apolo. c. 22.

The solution
of
Durands
arguments.

reason why an Angell of his nature cannot haue vbiquity, or be in all places at once, is, because his essence being create, must needs haue a limited Spheare in all things, and consequently in his place. Therefore though hee haue no limitation *quoad nimum*, or in littlenesse, because he is, *totus in toto & totus in qualibet parte spacii*; wholly in the whole space together: and as wholly in euery litle part and point of the place as he is in the whole: yet *quoad magnitudinem* in greatnes, or rather extension, he must needs haue his bonds and limits, according to the limits or bonds of his essence and perfection.

To the second, I answere, that though an Angel be not formally in any place by his operation; yet neuertheles, I admit, that if an Angell could of his owne nature and essence worke in all places at once; that it might be thereof probably inferred that hee were also without limit in essence, and that consequently hee might be in infinite places at once; yea haue *vbiquity* and immensitie: but supposing that

that the nature of an Angell, not of the perfectest possible, doth or can require this, but rather hath his limited Spheare, in which he may *simul operari*, worke at one, and the same time, though he may in al successiue. Hence it followeth, that he cannot be in all places at once but onely that he may be with succession of time, and operation, in all places.

To the third in like manner I answer, that the meaning of *Origenes* & *Tertullian* is nothing else, but that Angels haue such swift motion, that they can be in almost an vnimaginable short space of time in any place: so *Tertullian*. *Omnia (inquit) spiritus ales est momento ubicunq; vult adest.* Such is the velocitie of spirits, that they can in a moment be where they will. And *Origenes*, *Ubique (inquit) Damon est presens totum mundum subito peruolans.* The deuill (saith this Doctor) is euery where present, suddenly flying and passing through the whole world. Almost, though not altogether, with the same breuitie, that our cogitation is now here, & in a mo-

Tertul. & Origenes. esse sunt ipsorum verbum explicatur.

ment is transported to the furthest corner of the world, yea, from thence to the highest part of Heauen, or lowest depth of Hell.

CHAP. XIII.

What is that by which an Angell is really and formally in any place?

THE first opinion in this question is of *Scotus*, *Richard*, and the nominales, who were of opinion that Angels were formally constituted in their place by their substance immediatly.

The second opinion is of *Ferrara*, in his third Booke, *contra gentes*, Cap. 68. that the Angels are in place by their operation; and this is the ordinary sentence of the Thomists, who ground themselves in *Thomas 1. sent. dist. 37. q. 3. ar. 4.* where *Aquinas* saith, that an Angell is in his place by the operation or contact of his vertue, by which he produceth some motion, light, or other effect.

Scot. q. 2. d.

2. q. 6.

Richard. 1.

d. 37. ar. 2.

q. 1. ar. in 2.

d. 2. q. 2. ar.

2 conclusi-

one 4.

Ferrara lib.

3. contra

gentes. cap.

68.

Thom 1.

sent. dist.

37. q. 3. ar. 4.

The third opinion is of *Caietane*, vpon the first part of the summe of *Thomas*; who holdeth, that an Angell is onely truly said to be in some place, by the applying of his vertue, with which hee doeth virtually touch the place, although hee doe not thereby produce any effect in that place, where he is said to be present.

Caietan. 1. p.
q. 52 ar. 2.

The fourth opinion is of some moderne writers, who holde that all these wayes an Angell may be truly with proportion to the being in place of corporall things, said also to be in place; for that in all the aforesayd wayes of the Angels being in place, there is sufficient proportion betweene the Angels and the place wherein they are sayd to be, answerable to the like which is seene to be betweene any corporall thing or quantitie, and the place where it is, not with correspondence of parts, for that onely is required in corporall things, and proper existence in place, but with sufficient proportion of substance, vertues and operation, which is sufficient, and one-

ly required for to be metaphorically or spiritually in a place: but because this is more apt for the sharpenesse and metaphisicall contemplations of the Schooles: I leaue these and such like points for them, to be discussed more at large..

CHAP. XV.

Whether many Angels can be at one time in the same place together.

IT is a thing altogether agreed vpon in Philosophie, that two bodies can not, at least way naturally, be in one and the same place together; as for example, supposing a Glasse be full of Water, it is vnpossible there should be put as much more of Wine into the same Glasse, at the same time, but that looke how much Wine, or any other liquor doeth enter in, so much Water must be emptied out. Now therefore the difficultie is, whether the same be in spirituall things also? that

that two, or many of them cannot be at one and the same time, in the same glasse, or any other place?

To this I answer, that there is no doubt, but it may be so, even naturally; first, for that wee reade in the 8. Chapter of *S. Luke*, that many euill Spirits, had, at one time possessed one and the same body: secondly, for that the onely cause why two bodies cannot be so naturally in one place together, is, by reason of their quantitie; but Spirits haue no quantitie, therefore there can be no impediment why they may not be many of them; yea, infinit (if infinit in number of them were possible) in one and the same place; for that the same reason of coexistence is of many, that is of two; and of infinite, which of many.

Luc. 8.

Furthermore, this may be confirmed by the multitude and perfection of Angels; for seeing that they are so many, as the Scripture insinuateth, *millia millium, & decies centena millium assistent ei*; yea, of such perfection, that without doubt, there is none of them

them which hath not a great spheare of place answerable vnto his perfection (according as many Diuines doe say) consequently to that opinion wee must needs thinke, that supposing the Angels doe moue locally, it is most probable, that sometimes they are found in one and the same place, at least way in part, though I thinke it to be more probable, that the whole place answerable to the perfection of one is neuer answerable altogether to the perfection of the other. For if it be true, which the Schooles commonly hold, that the essences are neuer of any two Angels equall, but that euery one doth exceede another in essentiall perfection; consequently, it must needs follow, that the places which alwayes are answerable to this essentiall perfection more or lesse, must needs also be vnequall, according to the inequalitye of the perfection of their essences, which many doe hold to be not onely as two men are in number, of an individuall distinct perfection, one more excellent or perfect then another, but also

also in the spe^{ie} or kinde, and as a man differeth from a Lyon, with specificall excesse and distinction.

CHAP. XVI.

How Angels doe moue from one place to another.

FOR the better vnderstanding of this question, wee must first suppose, against *Durand*, that Angels doe truly moue from one place to another, according as it is said, *Luke 1. 26.* that *the Angell Gabriel was sent of God into a Citie of Galile.* Secondly, we must note, that as many wayes as an Angell is said to be in any place, so many wayes also it may be verified of him that hee moueth; for that, to moue locally, is nothing else then to be successiue in diuers places, *to wit*, in one after another: and this two manner of wayes, eyther by changing his substance by little and little,

as

as bodies doe, from one place to another, though with farre more veloctie then any corporall thing can doe; or secondly, not by succession, but by transporting himselfe wholly from place to place; which though diuers Diuines hold, may be alwayes as it pleaseth the Angell, eyther in time, or in one onely instant, and indiuisible moment of time; yet it seemeth farre more probable that which the common current of the Schooles doe determine, *to wit*, that hee neuer doth or can passe in an indiuisible moment of time from one whole place, wherein hee was before, vnto another; neyther can hee, at least way, by his naturall force and vertue, passe from one of the said places to another whole place, correspondent vnto his proper perfection; vnlesse hee passe (as bodies also must doe) by all that space which is interjacent, or lyeth betwixt the two said places; the one, from whence hee commeth; the other, whither he passeth: for otherwise he might haue any operation in what distance soeuer,

foeuer, in a moment : which were to attribute too much to the Angelicall power, or to any thing possible, but onely to Almighty God, who as hee is present in all places, so can hee instantly worke any effect in all places; yea, this were against the common receiued principle of Philosophy, *Nihil agit in distans, quin prius agit in, vel per medium*; Nothing can worke in that which is distant, vnlesse it first worke in that which is interjacent in the midst; for that this doth so repugne, euen to the common apprehension, that many doe hold it to imply contradiction, that euen God Almighty himselfe, should immediately worke as he doth, in euery place, vnlesse hee were present in euery place; much more then is it vnpossible for any Creature, how perfect foeuer it be, to haue immediate operation in any place distant, vnlesse hee first operate in the midst, or passe from one place to another, without passing through that place also which is interjacent in the midst; for that the
same

same reason is in the operation which is in the transposing of his Angelicall substance.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Angelicall power; and first, whether the Angels can, or doe, impresse any motion in the corporall creatures? and in particular, of the motion of the celestiall Orbes.

ABout the first difficultie, as concerning the Angelicall power in locall, or other whatsoever motion of inferiour corporall Creatures, it is needlesse to insist, for that both naturall reason, and Scripture, are most plaine in this matter: naturall reason, because of their naturall perfection and power, aboue all other creatures, as shall be declared afterward: secondly, the Scripture also doth insinuate no lesse, *Apoc. 7. ver. 2. And I saw another Angell come vp from the East, which*

which had the Seale of the living God, and hee cryed with a loud voyce to the foure Angels to whom power was giuen to hurt the Earth and the Sea. Againe, the 14. cap. ver. 18. And another Angell came from the Altar, which had power ouer the fire. Yea, S. Austine, in his Bookes de Trinitate, disputing how the Diuels can worke such admirable effects in these inferiour Creatures, saith, that this is by locall motion, applying things of their nature active, to others of their nature also passive.

And that this Angelicall power may be more manifest in all bodies and corporall creatures whatsoeuer, he addeth; *Omnia corpora reguntur per spiritum vitæ rationalem*, that all bodies are gouerned by some Spirit; which, whether it be so or no in regard of the Heauens, their influences, and motions, hath no small difficultie in Philosophy. First, for that if the heauens, were gouerned and moued, not of themselues, but by some Angels, their motion should be violent vnto them,

Aug. lib. 3.
de Trin. c. 8.
89.

Thereason
of those
who hold
the Hea-
uens to be
moued by
themselues
or by an
internall
forme.

The definition of violent.

Arist. lib. 3.

Met. cap. 1.

them, seeing that as *Aristotle* defineth that is violent, which hath his origine extrinsecall, *Cuius principium est extra*: but certaine it is, that the motion of the Heauens be naturall vnto them, and not violent; therefore it cannot proceede from any externe mouer.

Iob. 34. 13.

Secondly, God doth gouerne the world immediately by himselfe; for as *Iob* saith, *Who hath bee appointed ouer the earth beside himselfe? or whom hath he placed ouer the whole world?* Wherefore if hee doe not gouerne the rest of the world by Angels, much lesse the Heauens, and Celestiall motions, of whose influences, all things doe so depend.

Heb. 1. 14.

Thirdly, for that if, as *Saint Paul* saith, *All (the Angels) be ministring Spirits, sent forth to minister for their sakes which shall be heires of saluation*, it seemeth there can be none destined for the perpetuall motion of the heauens, vnlesse that their actiuitie be such, as being imployed here in the ministerie of our saluation, they also can execute ioyntly their office of the motion

motion of the Celestiall Orbes, which seemeth altogether improbable, and without any ground.

Fourthly, for that as the Philosopher * *Simplicius*, *Alexander*, *Aquinas*, and *Socinas* hold, the first Orbe or Heauen, is moued immediately by Almighty God; why then shall not the same be said of the rest? or at least way, be moued by their proper formes? as *Maier*, and *Albertus Saxo* said.

Neuerthelesse, it seemeth more probable (though in this wee haue no certaintie) that the celestiall Globes and Spheares are moued, neyther immediately by Almighty God alone, neyther by their owne proper formes or qualities inherent, but immediately by the Intelligencies, or Angels: and this is the opinion of *Aristotle*, *Plato*, and the better part of the Philosophers: yea, *Aquinas* in one place thinketh it demonstrable; and in another, to be a point of Faith; *Fidei sententia est quod substantia separata siue Angeli moueant corpora caelestia*: and

G

Bona-

* *Plath. cap.*
2. libri quem
scripsit, de
is quibus
Aristoteles
& Plato
diffident.
Alexan. &
Simpli. 8.
Phys. A.
quinas 12.
Metaphys.
ad textum
36.
Gregor. in 2
dist. 1. q. 1.
ar. 2.
Socinas 12
metaph. q.
39.
Albert. 8.
Phys. q. vii.
Albertus de
Caelo.
Aristot. 8.
phys. 6. cap.
text. 52. &
13. Metaph.
c. 8. text. 43.
Plato 1. de
Legibus.
Aquin. opus.
cult. 10. ar.
3. & opus.
11. ar. 2. &
de potentia
q. 6. ar. 3.

Bonauent. 2.
d. 14. ar. 3.
q. 2.

The first
reason for
the Ange-
licall mo-
tion of the
heavens.

Aug. 3. de
Trinit. c. 4.

The se-
cond rea-
son for the
Angelicall
motion of
the Orbes.

Bonauenture calleth it an opinion, *tam rationi quam fidei imprimis consentaneam*, agreeable both to Reason and Faith: but in these censures doubtlesse these Doctors did exceede; for that neyther any plaine place of Scripture, nor demonstratiue principle of Philosophie can be brought for this Angelicall motion, onely that of the Platonickes and Peripatickes doth make this opinion probable; so wit, that it seemeth to be an infallible, and prefixed order of almightie God, in all Creatures, that the inferiour be moued or governed by the superiour; so that as Saint *Aufine* saith, *Quemadmodum inferiora corpora per superiora, ita superiora per spiritum vita quodam ordine reguntur*; as the inferiour bodies are gouerned by the superiour, so the superiour by the spirit of life, that is, by some Angell.

Secondly, if this circular motion of the Heavens did proceede from any inherent forme or qualitie, consequently the cessation from that motion should be violent vnto them; which neuer-

neuerthelesse is most certaine shall be after the day of Iudgement, at the re-nouation of all. Wherefore seeing it seemeth neyther conformable to reason; nor to the prouidence of G O D, who (*as hee reacheth from one end to another mightily, so doth hee sweetly dispose of all things, according to the vulgar, disponit omnia suauiter,*) that a perpetuall violence should be done vnto the Heauens, in ceasing from that to which they haue a naturall inclination: it is farre more probable that they haue none such; but rather that that motion is from some externe mouer, and not from any inherant or vnited forme vnto the matter of the Heauens: which, if it be true, it is more conformable to Philosophy, and Diuinitie, (as shall be declared more at large afterward) that this motion proceedes from some other cause besides Almighty God, who though (as is proued by the second obiection) hee rule all by himselfe immediately, yet not onely by himselfe immediately.

Sap. 8. 1.

The answer
to the first,
second,
and fourth
obiections.

Aquinas
prima parte
quest. 112.
ar. 2. ad. 1.

Neyther can this Angelicall motion (as was objected) be accounted, euen in the supream Heauen, or *primo mobili*, violent; for that it is not the meaning of *Aristotle*, that all those motions be violent which come from any externe cause, but that onely, which so commeth *ab externo motore*, that it is against the inward inclination of some internall forme inherent in the subiect; as it is violent for a stone to ascend, by reason of the grauitie or waight it hath inherent, which is a perpetuall inclination for to descend: and thus much by the way, to the first, second, and fourth obiections.

To the third *Aquinas* answereth, *1. parte, questione 112. ar. 2. ad 1.* that those wordes of the Apostle concerning the Angelicall mission, may haue two senses, *to wit*, eyther in regard of an inward mission, or outward: inward onely I call that, which is by inward illustration onely, by which one Angell doth illuminate another, the superiour the inferiour:
outward

outward is that, by which the Angels are imployed in some externall ministerie for mans saluation. Now then, if wee consider the Angelicall mission in regard of the internall mission, or illumination of others inferiour, for our saluation, true it is (saith hee) that all sorts of Angels are thus destinated, for the saluation of those that are to receiue the crowne of glory: but if wee consider them in regard of the externall mission or ministerie, then ordinarily those onely of the lowest order are imployed in this; who therefore are called by that peculiar name of Angels or Archangels, that is, messengers, or chiefe messengers: *Græcè enim lingua* (as Saint Gregory saith) *Angeli nuncij, Archangeli uero summi nuncij vocantur: Angelorum autem uocabulum nomen est officij non nature: nam sancti illi cælestis patriæ spiritus, semper quidem sunt Spiritus, sed semper quidem vocari Angeli nequaquam possunt, quia tum solum sunt Angeli cum per eos aliqua nunciantur.*

Greg. I. hom.
34. in. E.
angelica.

But peradventure some will object,

that *mission*, or *sending forth*, doth alwayes signifie a mutation of place, wherefore seeing that those Angels, who doe continually volve the Heavens, haue not this kinde of mission, they cannot consequently be said to be sent.

It may be perhaps answered, that this is to conceiue too materially or grossely of these so spiritual things: for, who can doubt, but that the second Person of the most blessed Trinitie, not onely as incarnate in our humanitie, but euen as God; or if this haue any difficultie, the holy Ghost was sent by the Father into this world for our iustification and sanctification; and yet most certaine it is, that those most blessed Persons; being by their immensitie euery where, could haue no mutation of place, but therefore are said to be sent, as *Athanasius* and *Aquinas* expound; *Quod ex vi personæ alterius ad quam secundum aliquem modum processioneis habet relationem, incipit esse alicubi nunc modo, quo ante non erat; exempli*

Muth. 10.
Ioan. 9. &
14.

*Athanas. de
dictis deus
ex deo.*

*Aquinas, 1 p.
q 43. ar. 1.*

exempli causa, per illustrationem aut gratiam in mente hominis: Because they beginne to be by some effect of grace, where they were not before, without any mutation of place. In like manner, the blessed Angels, who continually volve the Heauens; for that they serue in this outward ministerie the Sonnes of God, and mediately by inward illustration, by other inferiour Angels, they may be said to be sent, or destined for the ministerie of those vvhich shall be Heyres of saluation: not that by this ministerie so continuall, the Angelicall blessednesse is any whit intermitted, for that God being euery where, they enioy him equally in euery place: But these expositions of S. Paul, I confesse, doe not altogether satisfie the argument, wherefore no doubt but the contrary opinion is very probable.

CHAP. XVIII.

Whether the Angels can worke any true miracles or no? And how wee are to discern the true miracles from the false?

HERE the difficultie is not, whether the Angels, by the command, particular concurse, and omnipotent power of God, can worke any Miracle or no: for that no man doubteth, but that, as God can take, and vse, other inferiour creatures whatsoeuer, as instruments of his diuine decree, will, and omnipotence, in the production of any naturall or supernaturall effect, whatsoeuer it pleaseth his diuine Maiestie, so much more, or *à fortiori*, hee can vse the Angels.

The question therefore is, whether these so admirable and excellent creatures, be of their owne nature, of so extraordinary power, forces, and vertue, that they can, not onely as instru-
ments

ments of Gods absolute power, but also as principall causes and agents, produce any true miraculous effect?

In which doubt, the affirmative part hath seemed to many vndoubted: for that, a miracle is nothing else, but that, which being out of the common course of nature, beyond or aboue it, doth cause admiration: such like as the Magitians, or the Diuels by them, as principall Instruments of their wickednesse, doe worke euery day.

So *Simon Magus* (as wee reade in the *Clementine* Recognitions) was wont to boast; *Omne quod velles posse facere*; that hee could doe what pleased him: *sibiq; obtemperare omnia*, and that all things did obey him; so that nothing was miraculous, or wonderfull, which hee iudged not to be within the compasse of his power.

Porphyrie also in his Booke of Sacrifices, in the peculiar Chapter he made of the diuers kindes of the bad Angels or Diuels, writeth, that vwhen the Spirits doe apply their naturall, or vtmost power and forces, they can accom-

*Simon Mag.
apud Cle-
mentem Ro-
manum lib.
2. recognit.*

Cap. 1.

accomplish any thing almost, though farre exceeding the common course of nature : and therefore *Iamlichus*, libro de *Mysterijs Egyptiorum*, doth call the Magicians *Deorum pedissequos*, the imitators, attenders, and followers of the Gods; *Quia admirandis operibus, Deorum vestigia subsequi proxime videntur*; because they seeme to follow, and come nearest the Gods, in their so admirable workes : wherefore if the Diuell can produce so miraculous effects as these by experience doe teach, by the mediate action of the Magicians, no doubt but he can also by immediate, and sole proper action. Yea, if such be the naturall power of the preuaticating Angels, much more of the good; who by the supernaturall grace in which they persisted, and their finall end and beatitude they haue obtained, haue their power and vertue nothing diminished, but rather much augmented and extended, euen ouer the other infernall Spirits, as Saint *Austine* doth expressly hold; *Quemadmodum corpora crassiora*

Tomo 2. de
Trin. lib. 3.
cap. 3.

crassiora, & inferiora, per subtiliora, & potentiora, quodam ordine reguntur: ita omnia corpora per spiritum vitæ, & spiritus vitæ irrationalis, per spiritum vitæ rationalem: et spiritus vitæ rationalis desertor, atque peccator, per spiritum vitæ rationalem, pium & iustum: & ille per ipsum Deum: ac sic vniuersa creatura, per creatorem suum, ex quo, & per quem & in quo, etiam condita, atque instituta est. Like as the more grosse and inferior bodies, are governed by the more subtile and powerful, in their due order and proportion. So likewise, all bodies are by the spirit of life: and the spirit of life irrational, by that spirit which is indued with reason, and the spirit of life indued with reason, which hath prevaricated and fallen from the grace and fauour of his Creatour, by that which persisted, and this by God. Wherefore, if the power of the bad Angels be extended to so wonderfull effects as wee experiment euery day; much more consequently, must needs be the vertue of the good, euen vnto the working of miracles: for that (as
Saint

August. lib.
26. contra
Faustum.
cap 3.

Saint *Augustine*, defineth) *Miraculum est quicquid arduum, aut insolitum supra spem, vel facultatem mirantis apparet.*

A miracle is nothing else but whatsoever seemeth, or is of difficultie, unwonted, beyond the expectation or facultie of him that admireth: and againe, the same Father, *Naturam appellamus cognitū nobis cursum, solitumque naturae; contra quem Deus cum aliquid facit, magnalia vel mirabilia nominantur.* Wee call that nature which is according to the common and wonted course of nature; against which when God doth any thing, they are called Wonders or Miracles. Now therefore, seeing many such things are done by Angels, they also may be sayd to worke miracles by their naturall power.

Neuerthelesse, the true opinion of almost all the Diuines in this point, is, that though the Angels both good and bad, can worke many things, which may seeme wonderfull vnto man, and beyond the course of nature: yet that not any Angel, Cherubin or Seraphin, can

can of his owne nature effect any true miracle, as principall cause and agent.

The reason is, for that as *Aquinas*, *Alexander Halensis*, *Gabriel*, *Molina*, and *Valentia*, doe define a true miracle, (as it differeth from that which onely seemeth wonderfull vnto man, though in it selfe it be not beyond the course of nature) is that which is *supra vires & potentiam cuiuslibet naturae creatae*, aboue the power and forces of all creatures: and consequently being supernaturall is reserued to the supernaturall power of God alone; who, as the Prophet pronounceth, Psal. 71. 18. *Qui facit mirabilia solus*, & Psal. 135. 4. *Qui facit mirabilia magna solus*; VWho onely doeth great wonders?

Moreouer, this is manifest: for that if the Magicians, or Diuels by them, could worke any true miracles, they were no sufficient argument or prooffe of the diuinity of our blessed Sauiour, or of any other article of our belief, which were most temerarious to be affirmed; because none can deny but that this vertue and power of working of true Miracles,

Aquin. 1. part. quest. 105. art. 7. Alexan. Halensis 2. part. quest. 42. membra. 1. Gabriel 4. dist. 3. q. 2. ar. 4. Dubio 1. Molina. Vasquez & Valentia in Aquinas in quo supra.

Ioh. 15. 24

Origen lib.
2. contra
Celsum.
August. lib.
3. de Trini-
tate. cap. 6.
Isidorus cap.
non mirum
269. 2.

Miracles, was one of the most especiall and principall meanes, which God gaue vnto the Apostles for the perswading of the foresaid Article, and conuersion of the world vnto Christianity. And therefore Christ himselfe vseth this prooffe, as of force against the incredulitie of the Iewes, *Si opera non fecissem, quia nemo alius fecit, peccatum non haberent.* If I had not done works among them which no other man did, they had not sinned; but now they haue both sinned, and hated both me and my Father: which also is confirmed by those wordes of *Nicodemus*, concerning the miraculous workes of our Sauiour, *Nemo potest hac signa facere nisi fuerit Deus cum eo.* No man could doe these miracles, or giue these tokens and signes, vnlesse God were with him, and this is the expresse opinion of *Origenes*, Saint *Austin*, and *Isidorus*: so that the resolution in this point is, that the Angels can worke *miranda*, *sed non miracula*: things to vs wonderfull, but not those which are strictly and Theologically called miracles:

cles: and thus are the Fathers to be vnderstood, which to some seeme to be of the contrary opinion.

But hereupon ariseth another question of no small moment; *to wit*, supposing that both the good Angels and the bad, can worke so extraordinary effects as may well deserue to be called *miranda*, though not absolutely *miracula*: the difficultie is, how, and by what signes and tokens we are to discern those which be true miracles, from those that be onely counterfeited, though may cause some admiration, in regard of their noueltie and strangenesse.

To this I answer briefly (for that this matter requireth a more large discourse then this place permitteth, and shall be afterward in a better occasion more largely discussed) that the signes whereby a true miracle may be discerned from a false, is: first, if the effect doeth exceede, the forces and power of nature, eyther in the substance and thing produced, as that two bodies be placed in one and the selfe same

How to
discerne
true mira-
cles from
false.

First, by
the thing
produced.

same place, or that the Sunne, contrary to his natural course, goe backward, or any corporall thing subiect to corruption, be made altogether corruptible and impassible, as the beatified bodies shal be in Heauen: or in regard of the subiect, wherein such an effect is produced, as the reuiuing of the dead, reuniting the soule to the body, or giuing sight to the blind: or lastly, that the manner at least way, be more then all naturall forces can reach vnto, as the sudden cure of sicknesse, and the like.

Secondly,
by the end.

The second way how to discerne a true miracle from a counterfeite, is, if the effect haue not propounded vnto it a good end; for that then wee may well coniecture that it is no true miracle, but some illusion, proceeding from the Diuell: as if the said wonder be wrought onely to confirme some falsitie, heresie, or onely for vanitie, and to obtaine honour and credit amongst men: as may be found by infinite examples of counterfeite miracles, wrought by Friers and Nunnes, both
in

in former times, as also in our age; as in particular was found in the famous Portugal Nunne, who blessed the Spanish royall Standard, which came for the Conquest of England in the yeere 1588. who, after that she had for to gaine a vaine opinion of sanctitie, so long deluded the world with her five wounds, in imitation of our Sauours, and with other infinitethings & cures, which to most seemed miracles, at length was detected, and iustly punished for her forgery & hypocrisie: after that she had, had, for no smal space, her picture placed in the Churches of most parts of *Spainne*, *Portugall* and *Italy*, by publike permission, if not authoritie and approbation, and so reputed and reuerenced for a wonderfull great Saint, who was either an extraordinary Witch, counterfeyt, or hypocrite.

The third way to know a true miracle from a false, is, by the perfection of the worke done, with all due circumstances, for that the workes of God are altogether perfect and com-

H

plete

The hypocrisie and counterfeite of a famous Portugall Nunne as yet living.

The third way to know miracles by the complete and due circumstances.

plete in all their circumstances. The diuels are ordinarily imperfect, at least way in some circumstances, as is apparant out of the 8. Chapter of *Exodus*, in the contention betweene *Moses* and the Magicians.

The fourth
by the
manner of
the produ-
ction of
the won-
der, *to wit*,
the absurd
circum-
stances.

The fourth token, is, the true miracles are alwaies done by deuoute, manifest, and serious inuocation of Almighty God and his holy Name: on the contrary side, the false are alwayes wrought by some hidden, absurde, ridiculous, vaine and superstitious prayers, signes, characters and vnknown or vnsignificant wordes, which haue no connexion or proportion with the effect or wonder produced, cyther in the nature of the things in themselves, or by the particular ordinance or decree of God, imitation of our Sauour, or approbation of his Spouse the ancient, true, Catholicke Church.

Of the
Spanish
Saluda-
dores.

Such like as are commonly seene in *Spaine*, in those who are commonly called in Spanish, *Los saluadores*: *The sauiers, or giuers of health*: who (as they

they say) being borne with the signe of our blessed Sauour crucified, expressed in their tongues, haue this *gratiam gratis datam*, or extraordinary gift, that with their onely breathing vpon men or beast, they instantly cure them of their maladies: or if they come not in time, kill them with the same breathing.

Like vnto these also be those *Salmists*, who by the muttering of a few words, which they tearme *Ensalmos*, heale all kinde of wounds, and all by some pact with the Angell of darkness; as I by my own experience & their confession, haue oftentimes found.

And these the rather may without rashnesse be iudged diabolically, because the persons who profess these kinde of arts, are oftentimes or most commonly, ignorant, foolish, superstitious, and men of most wicked life: and therefore, as also for the absurd circumstances wherewith they effectuate their cures, they cannot be thought to be the instruments of God, or of any good Angell, for that, albeit the power

Of the Spanish Ensalmos.

of working miracles, might and sometimes hath beene giuen to wicked men; yet that these should haue it so ordinarily and with such circumstances as the foresaid haue, is in no wise probable; and consequently most likely they proceede from the bad angells: who throughly penetrating, and perfectly vnderstanding the nature of all these inferiour creatures, can *applicando actiua passiuis*, worke things which may seeme miraculous vnto vs, but in themselves be alwayes within the compasse of nature, both in the effect it selfe, as also in the manner of the production, and consequently be no true miracles, which alwayes haue somewhat aboue the compasse of nature, being either in the substance or manner of the things supernaturall, and so be beyond all the Angelicall power. So that as *Zanchius* well noteth, *Miraculum illud esse dicitur, non quod simpliciter sit preter ordinem particularis alicuius naturae (ut nonnulli male definiunt) sed propriè est, & verè dicitur quod preter ordinem totius naturae creata contingit.*

The true
definition
of a mi-
racle.

C H A P. XIX.

*Wherein are declared some other
speciall difficulties about the
Angelical power : and first,
about the reuiuing of men or o-
ther things dead.*

Empedocles, as he is alledged by *Laer-
tius*, and diuers other Philosophers,
were of opinion, that by the vertue of
sundry Hearbes, things altogether
dead, might be restored to life againe.
Wherefore, seeing the Angels doe
know the vertues of all these inferiour
creatures, they may easily, by the ap-
plication of the foresaid Hearbes, and
other naturall causes, worke the fore-
sayd effects.

In conformitie of which, the fa-
mous Historian *Xanthus* recounteth
the restoring to life of one *Tillo* by the
applying of the Hearbe *Balus*: and *Iuba*
of another, by the vertue also of ano-
ther Arabian Hearbe: yea, this see-

H 3 meth

Laertius
lib. 8.

The vertue
of some
Hearbes
out of *Xan-
thus* and
Iuba.

G m rāin
Historia
Mexicana.
cap. 23.

meth the more credible, for that we know by experience, of diuers other, though more imperfect creatures that were restored to life by other naturall meanes; as of Gnattes wrapped in warme ashes: Bees with the iuyce of Nepetes: Ecies with Vinegar and dounge: the yong Pellicans and Lyons with the old ones blood, and roaring: And as *Gomara* writeth in the *Mexican Historie*, the *Mexican Viceffiline Bird* hauing beene dead all the winter, is reuiued by the heate of the Summer. Yea finally, if the authoritie of *Gugonius* may take place in this so strange and wonderfull effect: the like also is reported by him of certaine people of *Russia*, in these words, *Populos quosdam in Lucomeria regione Russia habitantes quocannis vigesima septima mensis Nouembris die (ut solent Hirundines & Rana,) sic & ipse pra frigoris brumalis magnitudine mori: postea redeunt: vere, vigesima quarta Aprilis die denuo reuiuiscere: atque hi cum sibi mortem imminere sentiunt, merces suas certis in locis deponunt: quas cum gustant,*

strensy & Septonovatzij vicini populi,
suis mercibus interim aquivalentibus,
eodem in loco relictis auferant; illi reni-
niscetes eas merces, si iusta videantur
pro suis, accipiunt, sin minus easdem repe-
tant: unde lites, & bella sapissime,
inter eos oriri dicuntur. Certaine peo-
 ple (saith this Author) habitants of
Lucomoria, a place in *Russia*, doe like
 vnto Frogs and Swallowes, by reason
 of the vigor and cold of the climate,
 die euery Winter about the seuen and
 twentieth day of Nouember: and
 quicken againe with the heate of the
 Sunne returning againe vnto vs, about
 the 24. of Aprill.

But if this as *Sigismundus*, fol 80.
Moscovia noteth, be fabulous, as also the
 Histories of diuers others who are said
 to haue bin resuscitated by *Aesculapius*,
Tyndireus, *Glaucus*, *Admetus*, and
 the like: yet if any credite may be gi-
 uen to humane authoritie, it seemeth
 there can be no doubt of those who
 are reported to haue beene restored to
 life againe by *Gabienus*, *Apollonius*, *Tya-*
naus, *Zata* the Egyptian, *Erus* the Ar-
 H 4 menian,

Plato lib. 18.
de repub.
Plin. lib.
7. histo. na-
tur. c. 52.
Apule. in
Mol. lib. 2.
Philost. lib
6. de vita.
Apollin.
Dawni Cle-
mens in sti-
monario.
Plutarch.
lib. de
anima.
Aeg. lib.
2. de exci-
dia Hieroso-
lymitano.
cap. 2.

menian, and *Simon* the most famous ancient Magician: for that for these we haue the authorities of *Plato*, *Plinie*, *Apuleius*, *Plutarch*, *S. Clement*, and *Agesippus*: wherefore, if these things might be done, eyther by naturall causes, or by the helpe of the angels of darknesse, much more, or *a fortiori*, they might be effected by the Angels of light.

But doubtlesse, whether we consider the naturall principles of Philosophie, or the supernaturall groundes of Diuinitie, this opinion of attributing vnto the Angels naturall power of reuiuing things dead, and in particular of men, is altogether improbable; vnlesse we speake of such imperfect creatures which may as well be produced by heat and putrefaction, as by generation.

The reason is euident, for that as the Philosophicall axiome is, *A priuatione ad habitum non datur naturalis regressus*; from the totall and perfect priuation, vnto the habit or forme whereof the subiect is once deprived, there

there can be no naturall regresse, returne, or iterate informing of the former matter, by the same forme, as the famous, or infamous rather Magician, *Zambre* the Jew, did confesse: wherefore it is most certaine, that when such kinde of wonders doe happen, if they be truely done, they are wrought by the particular operation, or cooperation of Almighty God, and consequently haue somewhat aboue all power created: or that the things which seeme reuiued were not altogether dead, as hath beene often obserued in Beares, the Dormouse, and the Indian *Vicecilinus*: or finally, the restoring to life againe of those perfect creatures, of which the Historians and other graue Writers make mention, were rather delusions of the Diuell, then true effects, wrought eyther by man, Angell, or other naturall causes; or rather seemed onely to be wrought by the sleights of the Diuell: for so he is wont to doe, deiuding of men, eyther stealing away the true dead bodies, or hiding them and substituting
other

Cardanus
l. 7. de
v. r. cap. 36.

other in their place, as hee did with the body of *Romulus*, *Cleomedes*, *Alcmene*, *Aristea*, *Ctesilla*, *Tyndareus*, and *Erus*, seeking so to deceiue men, for to intangle them further in his snare.

The second doubt.

Whether the angels haue any power about the cessation of the motion of the Heauens, destruction of any whole Element, or any other such immutation of the lawes of Nature, or change of the whole order of the world?

I answer briefly with this distinction that wee may consider the Angelicall power, as obedientiall (as the Diuines tearme it) or as onely naturall: if wee consider it after the first manner, then wee must take it as instrument onely of the diuine omnipotence and absolute power, then there is no question, but as God can immediately immute, change, corrupt, destroy, or annihilate whatsoever pleaseth his diuine Maiestie: so hee can also doe the same by the mediate action or cooperation of the Angelicall

Angelicall powers; yea, not onely this, but also whatsoeuer doth not imply contradiction in the effect, or should argue imperfection in perfection it selfe; to whom all imperfection, blemish, transmutation, or change, is altogether impossible.

But if wee consider the Angels according to the second part of our distinction, that is, according to their naturall power, especially supposing the decree of almightie God, as concerning the immutabilitie of the resolution of the Heauens, the persistence of the Elements, and the like, it is beyond the Angelicall power to alter any thing in these and the like Lawes of Nature: because that God hath not subjected the world vnto the Angels in these so maine matters; neyther peraduenture were it conuenient, as the common Axiome is, that more power should be giuen vnto the part, then to the whole.

Albeit, true it is, that according to the naturall Angelicall power, they can both further and hinder all inferi-
our

Zanch. de
operibus sex
dierū lib. 3.
cap. 18. in
thesi. 1.

our causes, in their naturall actions and effects in their productions; yea, they can worke most admirably in the body, soule, vnderstanding, will, memory, and in all other both inward and outward faculties of man; *Ea enim est (as Zanchius well declareth) Angelorum in omnes res corporeas, naturalis vis atq; potentia; ut quicquid eis in natura contingere, ab alijsq; rebus creatis fieri potest; illud ipsi quoq; v:l immediate per se, vel per naturalia agentia per se mota, naturaliter in eas efficere possunt: quamquam reipsa nihil nisi ex Dei ordinatione atq; mandato, præstare solent, aut etiam possunt.* Such is the naturall force and power (saith this Doctor) of the Angels ouer all corporall things, that whatsoeuer can happen vnto them naturally, by any other creature, they can for the most part, effect the same, or if not so much, at least way they can dispose vnto it: which last I speake in particular, in regard of the generation of perfect substantiall formes, to which though they can helpe with accidentall dispositions

sitions, yet neyther can they produce the formes themselues, nor vnite them to the subiects, as principall agents or causes : *Generatio enim* (as *Zanchius* and all the Philosophers proue) *non fit nisi a simili specie*; for that there can be no generation but of those that be of the same species or kinde, at least way in those which be of perfect life; *at verò* as the same Author prosecuteth, *potest in animali vno, vim gignendi excitare, & in altero vim concipiendi, & ea vt simul coeant efficere; atque ita per hac animalia a se mota, & ad generationem preparata, animal aliud generare.* Yea, if they be but left vnto their naturall power, they can stirre the windes, moue the waters, raise stormes and tempests, ruinate the strongest fortresses, transpose mountaines, and the like, which may seeme miraculous vnto men, though in themselves they haue nothing supernaturall.

The third doubt.

How the Angels may illuminate the vnderstanding of man, & moue his wil?

The

The Answer.

The manner of the illuminating of the intellectuall facultie is not (as some haue vnconsequently taught) by immediate manifestation of the Angelicall conceits or acts of vnderstanding, vnto the men they are pleased, or commanded by their Creator to illuminate; for whatsoeuer become of that opinion of the Schooles, that this is sufficient for one Angell to illuminate and vnderstand another; yet certaine it is, it cannot be so in the illumination of humane vnderstanding: because the Angelicall act of his vnderstanding, being not proportionate vnto the inferiour intellectuall facultie of man, it is not possible he should be illuminated by it; especially for that man all wayes vnderstandeth *adminiculo sensibilium phantasmatum*; by the helpe of sensible phantasmes; as is largely proued in the Bookes *de Anima*. Wherefore the foresaid Angelicall illumination is from the application of some outward sensible signes, or by the production of inward phantasmes,

talmes, representations, intellectuall formes or species, whose operations also the Angels may greatly helpe.

And by this meanes also they may moue our wils, mouing ioyntly the sensitiue appetite, by the commotion of the humours of the body, by which the will may be moued indirectly; because, as the Philosopher saith, 3. *Eth.* cap. 4. *Qualis unusquisq; est, talis ei finis siue obiectum videtur*: according as be the dispositions of euery man, so is his inclination more or lesse vnto the end he affecteth, or obiect he hath proposed vnto him: wherefore in this I conclude with *Zanchius* aboue alledged; *Tametsi Deus proprie ille sit, qui & mentes nostras illuminat, ac docet suo spiritu, & voluntates flectit quocunque vult: Si quis tamen dicat, illum ad utrumque opus, Angelorum uti solere operâ, ita vt ipsi quoq; suo modo, in nostras tum mentes tum voluntates agere dicantur; is contra Scripturas nihil dixerit*: although God onely doth moue our will as it pleaseth his diuine Maiestie to draw it, lead, force, or carry it,

Arist. 3. *eth.*
cap. 4.
Aquin. 1. 2.
quæst. 9.
ar. 1.

Zanch. quo
sup. Thef. 3.

Pro. 21. 1.

it with efficacie; yea, no other power hath this inforcing dominion ouer it, according to that of *Salomon*, *The Kings heart is in the hand of the Lord, and the riuers of waters bee turneth it whithersoever it pleaseth him*. Neuerthelesse as it is not contrary to Scripture, so it is most conformable to naturall principles, and Philosophie, that the Angels may moue both our vnderstandings and wils, according as hath beene explicated eyther by producing of species, proposing of the objects, and stirring vp the imaginative appetite, and passions; *suadendo* (as *Zanchius* expresseth it) *interne loquendo* & *agendo*; perswading, speaking, and cooperating inwardly with vs.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

*Of the Angelicall understanding;
and first, whether the Angels
doe understand all things, by
their substance, or no?*

IT hath beene a common opinion
amongst the Greeke Philosophers,
that the Intelligences or Angels were
of such perfection, that they needed
no other power besides their owne
nature, and intellectuall substance,
whereby they might vnderstand all
things, within the compasse due vnto
their nature. This is expressely held in
particular, by *Alexander, Philoponus,*
Themistius, who also doe attribute the
same vnto *Aristotle*, 12. *metap. cap. 8.*
& 9. & *text. 29. & 30.* he saith; *that*
in the separate substances, there is no
passive power; thereby signifying, that
the Angels be so pure Spirits, acts,
or as it were, formes, that they admit

I

no

Alex. Phil.
& Themist.
2. & 3. de
anima.
Arist. 12.
metap. cap. 8.
& 9. &
text. 29. &
30. & Com-
ment. 12.
metaphys.
text. 29. 29
& 30.
Durand. 3.
Dist. 3.

no passion, or reception of accidents inherent in their substance.

The congruence or reason of which may be this; for that, seeing such a creature is not impossible, why should wee denie this perfection vnto the Angels, that hee should vnderstand immediately by his owne substance? And this reason and opinion hath partly beene patronized of more moderne Writers, principally of the *Durandists*, who in the second of the Sentences, *Dist* 3. hold, that at least way the intellectiō, or act of vnderstanding, wherewith the Angell vnderstandeth himselfe, is not distinguished from his substance: for that, as this is not impossible vnto the Angell, so is it not disagreeing, but rather most conuenient to the Angelicall excellencie, aboue all other Creatures.

But these be but weake grounds for so strange a conclusion; wherefore the common opinion now both of Philosophers and Diuines, is, that not onely the Angelicall vnderstanding and will, are really distinct from their nature:

but

but also and *a fortiori* the acts of the said powers: for so as *Austine*, *Leo*, *Dionysius*, *Aquinas*, *Marsilius*, *Alensis*, and the Maister of the Sentences, doe affirme; *Dei solius est proprium, esse suum sapere & intelligere*: that it is the proprietie onely of Almighty God, that his vnderstanding and the act thereof, be all one thing; yea, **Anselme*, *Austine*, *Dionysius*, and *Aquinas*, doe distinguish these three things in intellectuall Creatures, *essentiam, virtutem, & operationem*; the essence; as first and radicall cause of the rest; vertue, power, or facultie, as immediate cause of the third, which is action; for that, this being so in all other Creatures, that they neuer produce immediately, by their substance, at least way onely; but by some super-added facultie or power; it seemeth more probable, that it must also be so in the Angels, that they haue all these three distinct.

Aug. 4. de Gen. ad litem.
Leo Papa, epist. 99.
Theol. com. cum Thoma,
& cū Magistro in 2.
Marsil. q. 3.
Alens. 2 p. quest. 24.
Dionys. cap. 11. de celest. Hierarchia.
** Ansel. de anima rationali, & lib. de concordia gratia & liberi arbitrii. & de casu diaboli cap. 18.*
August. lib. 15. de Trin. cap. 7.
Dion. lib. de celest. Hier. cap. 11.

CHAP. XXI.

Whether the Angels besides their substance and intellectuall power, doe neede any other forme whereby things may be represented vnto them?

How, and why, God doth know all things possible, & the Angell cannot?

AMongst other infinite differences betweene the diuine, and the Angelicall nature, this is one, that God, being the cause of all things, euen vnto their most indiuiduall and last differences (the which can neuer agree to any creature possible) therefore his diuine essence is superabundantly sufficient to represent vnto himselfe all things possible ; not onely according to their generall manner of being, but also according to their indiuisible proprietie and difference. But the Angell, though he farre exceede in perfection all other Creatures, yet because hee doth in no wise include in his essence and nature their perfections and proprieties,

prieties, it is not possible for him, that without some other kinde of representation, or efficient helpe, hee should attaine to the knowledge of any of these inferiour Creatures, or other Angels.

Wherefore though *Durand*, *Henricus Gaudauensis*, and diuers of the Nominales doe contradict, it seemeth farre more probable, yea, almost certaine, that which S. * *Austine*, *Dionysius*, *Albertus Magnus*; yea, which the Platonickes and Stoickes held; that, not onely man, but also the Angelicall and Celestiall Spirits, are endued with certaine intellectuall formes or *species*, by which they vnderstand all things, that their knowledge (according to their greater or lesse perfection) can attaine vnto: and without which they vnderstand no creature besides themselves.

The reason of this is, for that, as the common Axiome is, *Ex obiecto & potentia paritur notitia*, of the obiect and the power commeth all vnderstanding; wherefore consequently

Durand. 2.
Sent. dist. 3.
& *ibidem*
Nominales
aliquot.
Hen. Gaud.
quodlibet 5
quaest. 4.
* *August.* 12
sup Gen. ad
litteram cap.
23. & 11.
de Trinitat.
cap. 8.
& *Epistola*
100. & 101.
This is al-
so of the
ancient
Philoso-
phers:
as *Albertus*
Magnus
doth re-
late. 3. *de*
anima,
tract. 2.
cap. 18. &
Plut. lib. 4.
de placitis
refert.
Platonicos
& *Stoicos*
dixisse in-
telligentias
esse plenas
formarum in-
telligibili-
um.

it followeth, that where the obieſt or thing which is to be vnderſtood by the Angell, cannot be in the vnderſtanding of the Angell immediately by it ſelfe, it muſt needes haue ſome thing to ſupply the place, which is that which the Philoſophers call intellectuall formes or *ſpecies*; for that ſuppoſing that the fore-ſaid want or neceſſitie, neyther is ſupplied by the diuine eſſence; becauſe this belongeth onely to the eſſentiall and ſupernaturall beatitude: neyther by the ſubſtance or eſſence of the Angell himſelfe; for that this were too extraordinary and great excellencie for any Creature, that one and the ſelfe ſame forme or eſſence, ſhould be ſufficient for to repreſent almoſt infinite kindes of things, ſo diuers and diſtinct as thoſe be, which the Angelicall vnderſtanding doth thoroughly penetrate, and perfectly view and comprehend: therefore, for the more apt vnderſtanding of all things within the ſeueral ſpheare of the intellectuall capacitie of every Angell, it is requiſite there ſhould be giuen

to euery one of them, such intellectuall formes of things, whereby they may with proportion due vnto their perfection, distinctly conceiue those things which are within the compasse of their vnderstanding.

CHAP. XXII.

From whence proceede the Angelicall intellectuall formes, by which they vnderstand?

Scotus, in 2. Dist. 3. Quæst. 11. & 12. answereth; Primò, Angelum posse accipere species à rebus materialibus; That the Angels can receiue their intellectuall Species from corporall and materiall things; because they may as it were, collect them from the phantasie, and imaginative of men. And for that euery perfect nature is sufficient to obtaine his due perfection, proportion, and end; and consequently also the meanes proportionate, and sufficient for the obtaining of the same.

The first
opinion of
Scotus.

Secondly, the same Doctor saith, that though the Angels doe not receiue the *species* representing things in common, from the things themselves, because these are concreated, or produced together with themselves, or infused by Almighty God: yet that hee doth so receiue those which are due vnto the representations of things in particular; because particular objects cannot be represented by vniuersall *species* or formes, but onely by particular, which being so infinite in number, it is not likely they were all infused into the Angelicall vnderstanding at the first instant of his creation; for otherwise all the Angels, even from that first instant should haue attained vnto the perfect comprehension or vnderstanding of all particular objects; present or future, as well contingent as necessary; which were no small absurditie. Wherefore this is also the tenent of *Dionisius Carthusianus* in 2. *Dist.* 7. *quast.* 4. *vbi* & *Heruus* *quast.* 2. & *quodlibeto* 5. *quast.* 6. *Marf.* in 1. *Sent.* *quast.* 7. *Greg. Arimeneus* q. 9.

The

The second opinion of other Divines, is, that the Angels haue the foresayd species, both by infusion, as also from the objects themselues. So that by the former way they haue their supernaturall knowledge, by the latter their naturall; or at least way this being both in the substance and manner, naturall; the other is, eyther in the manner, substance, or relation, supernatural.

The third and most true tenent of *Thomas, and all his schoole, of *Albertus*, *Egidius*, *Parisiensis*, *Damasceus*, and *Austine*; is, that the Angelicall vnderstanding hath mediately infused by God himselfe the foresayd intellectuall formes and species, by which they vnderstand all things within their Spheare, and without which they can doe nothing: for that as Saint *Austine* saith, *Prius tempore vel natura quam conderentur res materiales, habuerunt rerum omnium cognitionem; non solum in verbo, sed etiam in proprio genere, id est, per species rerum ipsarum*: before the creation of all corporall creatures, the

Aug. 2. de Genesi. ad liter. l. 3. c. 24. & lib. 9. cap. 24.

Angels

Alensis 2. part. quest. 23. quem refert & approbat Gabriel.

* *Aquin. prima parte quest. 55. ar. 2. & 2. contra gentes. cap. 96. & 98. & omnes Thomista.*

Albertus in 2. dist. 3. ar. 15. Avic. diu. tract. de cognitione Angelorum.

Gualterius Paris lib. 2. de vniuerso. Gerson 7. parte considerat. 13. Dionysius cap. 7. cal. sua Hierarchia, quicquid re-clamet Scot. Dama. lib. 2. fide art. c. 3.

Angels had the knowledge of all things, not onely in the word or essence of God, that is, by seeing and contemplating of it, but also by other peculiar created species and intellectuall formes; and consequently they were not receiued from the objects themselves, but were infused by Almighty God.

Ezech.
cap. 28. 12.
The Eng-
lish tran-
slateth,
Thou sealest
wth the
Sunne.

The reason of this assertion is deduced out of the holy Text, *Ezekiel* the 28. Chapter, where in the person of the King of *Tyrus*, it is said vnto Lucifer, *Tu signaculum similitudinis plenus sapientiâ & decore. Thou* (as the vulgar translate) *was the seale of the similitude of God, full of wisdom and perfect beautie*: and againe, a little below, verse 15. *Thou wast perfect in thy wayes from the day thou wast created, till iniquitie was found in thee. Perfectus in vijs tuis, a die creationis tue.* But this could not be so, that hee was created so consummately perfect, if he had not beene created with the foresayd spirituall formes, due vnto the perfection of his vnderstanding, and
propor.

proportionate vnto his Angelicall nature.

The second reason of the Diuines, is taken from the proportion of the intellectuall power or vnderstanding vnto that which the Philosophers call, *Materia prima*, first matter or subiect whereof all corruptible and corporall creatures doe partly consist; for that the like proportion that the matter hath vnto all substantiall formes, the same hath the Angelicall vnderstanding vnto the intellectuall species or formes, for that both be in their kinde *pura potentie*, pure subiects, requiring of necessitie their proportionate formes, by which they may be reduced vnto their due actions and actes: but this matter is not alwayes in all inferior and corporall creatures, fully actuated or perfectly informed by the due forme, but rather it doth oftentimes obtaine this perfection, with succession and tract of time, by diuers acts: but in the superiour and incorporall bodyes, such as be the coelestiall, it is perfectly actuated by a forme created together

A Philosophicall reason or proportion for the former conclusion.

Like as the matter of the Heavens was created,

together
with the
perfection
of their
formes, so
the Ange-
licall sub-
stances
with the
intellectual
formes and
species due
vnto them.

*Dion. cap. 7.
de diuinis
dominibus.
Aug lib. 2.
sup. Gen. ad
liter. cap. 8.*

together with it, from the beginning of the world: proportionally therefore we are to affirme, that seeing the intellectuall power is in vs, who are subiect to corruption, not fully and perfectly actuated with the foresaid formes from the first instant of the creation of our soules, we must of necessitie by philosophicall consequence, admit the said perfection to be in the Angels from the first instant of their production.

Which also may be confirmed by the authorities of *Dionysius, cap. 7. de diuinis nominibus*, and of Saint *Anstine, lib. 2. super Genesim ad literam, cap. 8.* who affirme that therefore God created all inferiour things, because they had beene after the same manner created in the Angelicall vnderstanding: *ut prius fuerint condita in ipsa cognitione Angelorum*: to wit, according to the similitude and species which the Angels had given them; euen from the first instant of their creation.

CHAP. XXIII.

*Whether all Angels doe vnderstand
by species or intellectuall similitudes
equally perfect?*

Almost all the Schoole Diuines
(*Scotus* and his followers excepted) doe agree that the perfecter the
Angell is, the more perfect species
are giuen vnto him, which doe represent
not onely more perfectly, but also
more perfect obiects, and more in
number, they being fewer, but more
excellent in their representation. First,
for that, by how much more perfect
the Angels be in their essence, nature
and proprieties, the more like they
are vnto Almighty God (vnto whose
similitude they are all created) both
in the perfection of their vnderstanding,
as also in the manner of their
vnderstanding, but in this, amongst
other infinite excellences, God doth
exceede all intellectuall creatures, that
he

The consent of the
Schooles
against
Scotus.

The more perfect Angell hath more perfect intellectuall representations, species, and acts of vnderstanding.

*Dion. de di-
uinis nomi-
nibus c. 14.*

he doth comprehend, and most perfectly vnderstand all things with one and the selfe same species, or similitude of essence; therefore the Angels in like manner the more perfect they be, the more perfect and more vniuersall also must their species and intellectuall similitudes be in their representations: for so they shall haue more similitude, and come neerer in imitation to the perfection of Almighty God in their knowledge, as they doe in their essence, and other proprieties. Wherefore leauing this for the speculation of the Schooles, I conclude with *Dionisius; Angelos superiores scientiam vniuersaliorem & celsiorem participare*; that the Angels the higher they be in degree, order, or perfection, they participate more vniuersall and perfect knowledge, and that by fewer, and more excellent intellectuall formes infused into their vnderstanding.

CHAP. XXIIII.

*How an Angell doth know him-
selfe?*

Gaudanensis, *Marsilius*, and *Halensis* were of opinion, that the Angell, as hee doth vnderstand other things by species, or intellectuall formes, infused for that purpose into his vnderstanding; that so hee doth also himselfe: first, because no substance but onely the diuine can concurre immediately to the production of any forme, much lesse that which is substanciall hath proportion with the immediate production of an accident; yea, otherwise it would follow, that euery Angell should vnderstand and know any other Angell by his substance, and the soule her selfe immediately without any other help, but onely her owne substance and nature; which both are contrary to the common tenent both of Philosophers, and Schoole Diuines.

Lastly,

The opinion & reasons of those that hold that the Angels doe know themselves by infused species or representations.

Lastly, for that, if the Angelicall substance were sufficient to represent it selfe vnto his owne vnderstanding, it would follow, that as the *species*, in whose place it serueth, is subordinate alwayes vnto the facultie of the vnderstanding, so also the angelical substance should be, which seemeth most absurd, because so we should inuert the course of nature, which alwayes subordinateth accidents to substances, the intellectuall facultie vnto the substance; but neuer the contrary, the substance to accidents, or the substantiall essence vnto the accidentall power.

Neuerthelesse, the contrary opinion of *Aquinas* and all his Schoole, is more probable, *to wit*, that the Angels doe vnderstand, intellectuallly view, and comprehend their owne nature, by it selfe immediately, and onely, without any other intellectuall similitude added thereunto, which 'also is the tenent of *Bonaeuere*, *Durandus* and *Scotus*, who though ordinarily he opposeth himselfe against *Thomas*, yet here they agree.

Aquin. 1. p.
quest. 56.
ar. 1. & de
veritate
quest. 8.
ar. 2.

Bonauent.
Durand. &
Richardus
in 2. dist. 3.
Scot. dist. 3.
q. 8.

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The reason of this assertion is, for that it were superfluous to adde any other thing besides the Angelicall substance, because it is both sufficiently spirituall, as also present for to represent it selfe: so after the same manner, the diuine essence, because it is so spirituall and pure, being euery where, it needeth no other representation, but doth immediately represent it selfe to the vnderstanding of the blessed, both Angels and men, euery where, without any imperfection or subordination vnto the faculrie, to whom it is so vnited. By which wee may easily gather, the solution to the arguments of the contrary opinion: and in particular, of those which are most vrged; principally, to that which inferred subordination betweene the substance and the accidentall facultie of the vnderstanding, and that of the comparison with our soule; for that, as touching the first, the like vnion or representation wee see in the diuine essence, which serueth for to represent it selfe vnto it selfe, as also vnto the

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The diuine
essence
doth repre-
sent it selfe
vnto it selfe,
and to the
blessed
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Angelicall
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understanding of all the blessed, without any such subordination. And consequently, there can be no reason alledged, why the same may not be in the representation of the Angelicall substance, vnto his understanding immediately, without any other similitude or forme added thereunto; as also without the imperfection of subordinating the substance to the accident; I meane, the Angelicall nature vnto his understanding.

How our
soules doe
vnderstand
both ioyn-
ed with
the body
in this life,
as also se-
parated
from it.

To that also of the comparison with the soule, I answer briefly, that the same also is in regard of the soule separate from the body which is in the Angell; for that being now freed from all corporall or materiall dependence, she doth immediately penetrate things as they be in themselves, without any materiall helps, especially where shee is sufficiently present, and vnited vnto her object, as shee is vnto her understanding and substance: but if we consider our soule, as shee is vnited in this life vnto our bodies; so I grant, that she cannot so immediately without some other

other representation, or *species*, view her owne substance, for that (as the Philosophers say) *modus operandi sequitur modum essendi*; The manner of the operation doth follow the manner of the being; wherefore seeing the manner of her being is with materiall and corporall dependence of the body, the manner also of vnderstanding euen of her selfe, must be with the like materiall dependence.

CHAP. XXV.

How Angels doe naturally know Almighty God?

*A*quinas and Scotus, as they are almost alwayes opposites, where humane reason may finde any ground of opposition, so in this point also they differ, together with their two distinct Schooles: for Aquinas in the question aboue cited, the third article, holdeth it to be most conformable to reason and Scripture, that Angels natu-

The application vnto the vnderstanding of our soules, both in this life and in the other, of that philosophical axiome: *modus operandi sequitur modum essendi*.

*D. Thom.
quo supra,
ar. 3.*

The Angels doe naturally know God by their owne nature and essence, without any necessitie of other intellectuall similitudes.

*Gen. 1. 26.

The Angels were made to the similitude of Almighty God, as well as man.

rally doe know Almighty God by their essences, without any other forme or intellectuall species, vwith which hee ordinarily doth penetrate the nature of other inferiour things; because that such is the perfection of the Angelicall essence, that being as it was created (as well as man) **ad imaginem & similitudine Dei*, to the Image and similitude of Almighty God, more perfect in substance then any other Creature, which is not of the supernaturall essence; consequently may better represent the essence and nature of the Creator vnto himselfe, then any other Creature of inferiour perfection; though certaine it is, that in no wise it can represent vnto the Angell the essence and being of Almighty God as it is in it selfe, but onely obscurely, & *tanquam in speculo*, & *in enigmate*, as the Apostle saith of men while they are in this life, who in like manner doe obscurely see God in themselves and in other creatures, as also by, and in the obscuritie of Faith.

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On the contrary side, *Scotus 2. dist. 3. q. 9. & Marfilus in 2. Sent. quat. 7. ar. 10. conclusion: 8.* are of opinion, that no Angell doth, or can by his owne substance or essence, naturally know almighty God, but onely by spirituall species, or intellectuall formes, distinct from his essence and being. First, for that if the Angels did naturally know almighty God by their essence, they should know him naturally, with confusion, and in no wise distinctly, for that such must needs be the representation, as is the meanes by which it is made: wherefore seeing that the nature and being of the Angell doth represent God but obscurely; yea, confusedly, it were impossible the Angell should naturally know God distinctly.

Secondly, for that, if the Angell doth not naturally know God clearly and essentially by some species, it must of necessitie be, because such an intellectuall forme, as should represent the essence of God clearly seemeth impossible; but this wee see evidently

*Marfilus in
2. Sent. q. 7.
ar. 1.
Scot 2. Sent.
dist. 3. ar. 1.
conclus. 8.*

2 Cor. 12. 4

Cognitio
tutina An-
galarum ex
Augustino.

conuincd in the rapt of Saint *Paul* into the third Heauen, in which hee receiued such a species, as did represent vnto him the essence of God clearly, as many Diuines and Fathers doe hold, according to that of the second to the *Corinthians*, cap. 12. *I heard wordes, which it is not lawfull for man to utter; yea, which it were not possible he should vtter if he would.*

Thirdly, for that, according to the opinion of Saint *Austine*, the Angels by their creation, *habuerunt cognitionem matutinam*, in verbo nempe *cognitionem rerum*, they had a perfect knowledge in the second person of the blessed Trinitie, or word of God, and consequently, according to the same opinion of Saint *Austine*, they had a cleare notion and knowledge of the essence and being of Almighty God: seeing that the effects cannot be knowne clearly in their cause, vnlesse the cause also be clearly knowne.

Fourthly, for that if the Angels knew God by their owne essence, it would follow, that they did know him by

by discourse, which is against *Thomas*, the chiefe Patron of the contrary opinion, 1. *part. quæst.* 58. *ar.* 3. but that this would follow, it is euident, for that then the Angels should deduce the cause out of the effect, *to wit*, from their owne angelical substance as from a similitude, the nature of their Creator: wherefore, seeing that discourse is nothing but the deducing of one thing out of another, it doeth seeme manifest that the Angels doe discourse, if so be they know or deduce of their nature the essence and nature of their Maker.

Neuertheles, this opinion of *Scotus* seemeth nothing so probable as the former of *Aquinas*, which also is of *Alexander Hales*, p. 2. q. 24. numb. 1. and of *Gaudauensis*, *quodlibet.* 4. q. 7. Of *Ferrara* 2. *contra gentes*, cap. 98. and of *Cajetan*, and many others more moderne writers, who now almost all do follow the ancient Diuines, with *Aquinas* in this point, out of that of *Ezechiel*, cap. 28. *tu signaculum similitudinis*, Thou art (speaking of Lucifer)

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D. Thom.
1. *p.* 2. 58.
ar. 3.

Alex. Hales
p. 2. q. 24.
membr. 1.
Henricus
Gaudauensis.
quodlib. 4.
q. 7. & of
Ferrara 2.
cont. gentes.
cap. 98.
Aug. Niph.
lib. 2. *meta.*
disput. 10.
Ezech. cap.
28.

*Grego. mag.
lib. 32. mo-
ral. cap. 24.
& hom. 34.
in Euange.
Dion. c. 4.
de cal. Hier.
Et. c. 9. de
diuina no-
minibus.*

the seale of the likenesse of God : out of which also *Gregory* the great doth proue the same, *lib. 32. moral. cap. 24.* and the *hom. 34. in Euangelia.*

Moreover, that also seemeth at least absurd, which *Scotus* saith, that the Angels do naturally know God clearely and essentially. First, for that it is contrary to the common opinion of the Fathers, of *Dionisius Areopagita*, *cap. 4.* of his caelestiall Hierarchie, *Chrysostome*, *Cyrill*, *Maximus*, *Austine*, and *Ambrose*, with many others.

Secondly, for that an Angel, according to the opiniõ of *Scotus* either hath a forme wherby he knoweth al the perfections of God, or but onely some of them ; not the first, for that then the Angels were, by force of nature, blessed : and consequently our blisse were no supernaturall things ; *to wit*, the vision of Almighty God, as he is in himselfe and according to his infinite attributes and perfections : yea, even the diuels were as yet in that opinion blessed : for that they haue nothing wanting of their naturall knowledge and vnder-

The cur-
sed Angels
haue no-
thing wan-
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their natu-
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ledge and
vnderstan-
ding.

vnderstanding. Wherefore seeing this were most absurd, the like may very well be auerred of that of which it proceedeth, or is inferred: neither could the Angels know the essence of God or any one of his attributes, but they must of necessitie know all: if they be (as *Scotus* seemeth to hold, as indeed they are in themselves of infinite perfection, and consequently euery one including another) and therefore if one be known, as it is infinite, all must of necessitie be known.

Now therefore, I answer to the arguments of the contrary part, that it is most true that God ordinarily is not known in this life, but onely confusedly or not distinctly; yea, it is probable that he was but so known euen in the state of innocency.

To the second I answer with the common opinion of the Diuines; that true it is that such a species as may represent God cleerely, and according as his essence requireth, is impossible eyther naturally or supernaturally, and consequently that though Saint *Paul* saw

One attribute of God cannot be cleerely known, vnlesse all be perfectly seene; because that one doth include another.

saw Almighty God, as hee is in himselfe, and did enioy for a time his true essentiall vision and blisse; yet neuerthelesse, hee had no species impressed in his vnderstanding, by which hee might contemplate the essence of Almighty God, or vnderstand it, as it is in it selfe, but that this was effected by the immediate concurrence of God; who most diuinely vniteth his most independent and perfectest essence vnto our humane, or to the Angelicall vnderstanding: so to make them blessed by his most blessed vision and fruition.

The euident knowledge which the good Angels had before their confirmation in grace, of the being of God was naturall vnto them.

To the third I answered, that, that euident vision which the Angels had before their confirmation in grace, while they were but, *in via*, in the way, (as the Diuines terme it) vnto eternall blisse, was not supernaturall, but onely naturall; and so though it may be termed in some sort *matutina in verbo*, that is, in Gods essence; by which they knew after some sort in it the effects proceeding from God: yet that vision or sight of the Diuinitie was not that which

which is the true finall blisse of all intellectuall creatures, and consequently no cleare vision or sight of the Diuine essence.

To the last I answer, that though the Angell doeth know Almighty God by his owne essence: yet because this is done by many distinct acts of knowledge, it is not to be called discourse, except it be meant virtuall discourse: that is, that all that perfection and knowledge which a man may attaine vnto, by many acts of knowledge deducing intellectuallly one thing of another, all that, I say, an Angell hath by one and the selfe same indiuisible act of vnderstanding: eyther knowing his Creator by his owne Angelicall substance immediately, or by the essence of God so knowen vnto him, penetrating the effects proceeding, or which may proceed from Gods omnipotence.

And although it was the opinion of *Auerroes 12. metaph. text. 51.* and of *Avicenna, tract. de fluxu entis, cap. 4.* that Angels doe not know any thing in parti-

* *Auer. 12. metaph. text.*

51.

Avicenna

tract. de

flux. cap. 4.

Vide Caset.

in 1. part.

q. 87. ar. 2.

q. D. Thom.

ibid.

particular in this material world, but onely confusedly; and as the eclipse is known by the Astronomers: yet the contrary is a thing most certaine out of Scripture, Psal. 90. *Hee hath giuen his Angels charge ouer thee, that they keepe thee in all thy wayes.* But this custodie and charge of one singular and particular thing, could not be without knowledge of the same particular thing: yea, *they are all ministering Spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heires of saluation,* Hebr. 1. 14. And in the 12. of metaph. text. 36. & 37. the Philosophers opinion is, that the Heauens in particular are gouerned and moued by the Angels, which is done onely by their will and vnderstanding.

Lastly, for that as *Thomas* well pro- ueth those things which are dispersed in the inferiour faculties, are ioyned in the superiour; wherefore, seeing that man doth penetrate things in particular with two faculties of sence and vnderstanding, an Angell may with one.

CHAP. XXVI.

*Whether Angels can, or doe, know
things to come, as well those that
depend on the will of man, as
those which are independent.*

THE affirmative part seemeth to be
evident by experience, for that
there is nothing so common with
those that make pacts with the Diuell,
as to know by them all manner of
things future; yea, those that are alto-
gether dependent on mans wil, as may
be scene at large in *Martin del Rio, in
magicis disquisitionibus maleus malefica-
rum, Tyrans, Pererius, & infinite others,*
who treat of Magicke, Magicians,
Coniurers, Witchcraft, and the like.

Secondly, by reason; for that as
hath beene showne out of many Do-
ctors, they haue from their creation
infused into their vnderstanding cer-
taine intellectuall formes, sufficient
for the representation of any particu-
lar

*Tyrans.
Berrenius.
Martin, del
maleus
malefica-
rum.*

lar thing present, past or future. Wherefore, seeing that the Angels haue sufficient facultie, and the immediate cause of the representation & notice of things to come; it may seeme a thing most euident, that he doth so penetrate their natures, that he doth also know their effects; & the rather, for that all both Philosophers and Diuines doe hold that the essence of a comprehensive notice and penetration of their natures consisteth in the knowledge of the thing, *in cognitione rei quantum cognoscibilis est*, in the knowledge of the thing, as much as it may be knowne, consequently, that if the cause be knowen, it must be knowen as cause of all his effects possible; so that if the Angell doe comprehend man and all things inferior vnto him, he must also see and most perfectly vnderstand all effects present, past, or future.

For the resolution of this point, we must note and distinguish three kindes of future things, or rather three kindes of futuration of things as *Aquinas* doth in his matter of Angels, 1. *part. quæst.*

*Aquin. 1 p.
q. 57. ar. 3.*

57. *or* 3. for that there be some which though they be so contingent that God can hinder the effectuating of them, (as hee can of all things extrinsecall vnto himselfe) yet neuerthelesse, they necessarily follow of their causes, as that the Sunne is to rise to morrow, the fire to burne, if it be duely applied vnto matter combustible, and as touching these, I say, that all of them which doe necessarily follow of their cause, they may be easily knownen in their causes and by them. Secondly, there be an other sort of effects, which though they alwayes follow not of their causes, yet for the most part they doe, as health after and by such a medicine, in such and such due circumstances; and these also the Angels know not certainly, but by most probable coniecture, for that so they are contained in their causes, and with no more certainty.

The third sort of future effects of those which are altogether contingent, and which neither certainly, nor for the most part follow their cause, or the opera-

operation of it: and such are all those things which depend wholly of mans will, to accept or reiect.

And this is prooued first by the Scripture, *Isa. 41. 23.* Shew the things that are to come heereafter, that wee may know that you are Gods. And *Daniel 2. Wisedome* the 8. and first to the *Romanes*, where the Apostle, to shew the veritie of the Gospell to be from God, vseth this argument, because it was foretold of before by the Prophets, as *Saint Peter* also sayth; we haue a more firme word of the Prophets, *2 Peter 1.* So *Cyrill*, and *Theodoretus*, *Iustine Martyr*, *Clement of Alexandrinus*, *Tertallian*, *Lactantius*, and *S. Austine*, do vse this argument to prooue the mysteries of our Faith and Redemption to be true, because they were prophesied of so long before their happening: wherefore I conclude with *Origen*, *lib. 6. contra Celsum*, *diuini Sermonis characterem esse futurorum pradictionem*, that the very marke and character of the deuine word is the perdition and prophecy of things

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Isa. 12.
and *41.*
Dan. 2.
Sapient. 8.
Rom. 1.
2. Pet. 2.
Cyril. &
Theodor. in
cap. 41. Isa.
Iust. Mart.
ap. 2. ad
Anton. Cle-
men. Alex.
lib. 6. Strom.
Tertul. in
ap. 1. 20.
Lact. lib. 4.
diuini. in 1.
cap. 12. &
sequent.
August. lib.
de cate. rud.
c. 26. &
lib. 12. con-
tra Faust.
c. 8. & se-
quitibus. &
lib. 17. de
ciuit. Dei.
c. 15. & se-
quent.
Origen. lib.
6. contra
Celsum.

to come, and *Chrysostome* in the 18. Homilie vpon *Iohn*, *Certa predictio futurorum, immortalis duntaxat Del opus est*; The prediction and certaine fore-telling of future events, is the worke of the immortall God onely.

Neyther are the arguments of the contrary part of any moment, why a man should leaue that which is so groundd in Scripture and anelene Doctors of the Church of GOD. For albeir the Daniels doe sometimes discover things and future events; as without all doubt, they may and doe, yet they doe not that natural-ly, and of their owne forces and natural power, but that as Saint *Austine* noteth, *lib. 2. ad Simplicianum, quæst. 3.* & *lib. 2. super Genes. ad literam, c. p. 17.* they doe learne and know sometimes of those future euent, by the good Angels, who doe neyther know them, of their owne nature, but by diuine manifestation, as God shall please to makethem knowne vnto them: or secondly, for that they fore-tell those things which themselves meane to

L

doe,

Chrys. Hom. 18. sup Iohn.

Aug. lib. 2. ad Simplic. quæst. 3. & lib. 2. super Genes. ad literam, c. 17.

*Aug lib. de
dissinatione
Dæmonum,
cap. 5.
Et lib. 2. sup.
Gen. ad lite-
ram cap. 17.*

doe, or to procure to be done infalli-
bly, as the same Saint noteth, *lib. de di-
ssinatione Dæmonum, cap. 5. et lib. 2.
super Genes. ad literam, cap. 17.* Or fi-
nally, because they attaine vnto those
things by most probable conjecture;
as being most able to looke into, and
thoroughly penetrate the natures and
properties of all creatures, and so con-
sequently may coniecture of their dis-
positions and effects, as *Aquinas* doth
largely expound, 3. *contra Gentes, cap.
154.* and Saint *Austine* about alled-
ged.

CHAP. XXVII.

*In which are resolved diuers doubts
about the Angelicall knowledge of
things to come.*

The first DIFFICULTIE.

ONE of the chiefe reasons which *A-
quinas*, and many other Schoole
Diuines giue, why, and how, almighty
God doth see things future, (though
de-

dependent on mans free wil) is, because that such is the nature of Eternitie, which correspondeth vnto the infinite perfection of his diuine essence, and attributes, that being indiuisible in it selfe, yet doth, as it were, compasse and comprehend most perfectly all time, and consequently all things done, or that are to be done in any time: this therefore may be sufficient reason, why that blessed soule, or Angell, which seeth the diuine essence and attributes, and consequently amongst other, that of Eternitie, may also see, by reason of this vision of the infinite measure of all other measures of duration, all things done, or that are to be done within the compasse of Eternitie, because hee who seeth perfectly, that which includerh all these euents and future contingent effects, must of necessitie see the euents themselues therein contained.

How things are said to be seene in, & by, the eternitie of almightie God, as also of the blessed soules and Angelicall vnderstanding.

The second DIFFICULTIE.

Moreouer, seeing the Reason why the eternitie of almightie God is suffi-

Why the
diuine e-
ternitie is
affirmed
of many
Diuines
to be suffi-
cient
meanes of
seeing of
future e-
uent.

cient meanes to know all things future, because it doth as it were, *ambire completi*, compasse, or virtually containe all other duration both of men and Angels, it seemeth that hereof the like must necessarily follow in the Angels, *to wit*, that supposing that the Angelicall duration doth comprehend after the same manner though not with the like perfection, all other durations both of men and all other inferiour things, that consequently thereby hee may know the future euents of all humane actions, and other naturall effects, eyther dependent of mans free-will; or independent; because there is nothing done in tract of time, which is not here contained indiuisibly, or correspondent vnto this indiuisible duration. Wherefore, who seeth perfectly this Angelicall duration, by which the Angelicall essence is measured (which the Angell must of necessitie see most euidently) must consequently also see all things correspondent thereunto.

The

The Answer.

For the better vnderstanding of the solution of this difficultie, wee must suppose that (as all the Diuines doe confesse) that, I say, not onely men, but also Angels haue (*quod ad presens assignet institutum*) two kinde of knowledges, the one naturall, that is due to their owne nature and perfection, without presupposing any supernaturall grace or gift; the other supernaturall, *scilicet* that which is aboue his naturall forces, neyther due to his nature: againe, the one of these due vnto his nature while hee was *in via*, in the way to his last blisse, before his confirmation in grace, the which as yet hee continueth with more perfection now after the vision of the diuine essence, which is the other supernaturall, onely due vnto him as hee is *comprehensor*, or *blessed*, or rather, which is that, in which his beatitude doth formally consist.

Two kinds of acts of the Angelicall vnderstanding, naturall and supernaturall, *in via*, & *in patria*.

Now therefore this distinction of acts of the Angelicall vnderstanding

presupposed; I answered, that neyther of them is sufficient without some particular supernaturall reuelation whereby to vnderstand any future euent dependent on the free will of man or Angell, by reason of the foresaid Angelicall duration: no not euen by the eternitie of almightie God it selfe, precisely considered as it is eternitie onely; for that no duration, whether humane, Angelicall, or diuine, is formally representatiue, or reason of representation, as it is duration, but onely *persistencia in esse*, (as the Schooles speake) a persistence; or continuance in being; or existence of any thing created or increate.

Yea, this argument eyther proueth too much, or nothing at all: for that, if the eternitie of almighty God, being contemplated of the blessed men or Angels, were sufficient; whereby they might see all things future, they might consequently thereby see all inward cogitations, yea, all things possible, and consequently it would follow, that they might comprehend the omnipotence

nipotence of God, which is impossible, and against Faith: for that, as God is in essence ineffable, so is hee in all, and euery of his attributes incomprehensible.

The third DIFFICULTIE.

No man can doubt, but that it is harder to fore-see the effects which depend on the diuine will and decree, then to know those which are dependent onely of humane determination and will, wherefore seeing that according as Saint *Anstine* testifieth, *lib. de Diuinatione*, speaking of *Serapis* the Egyptian Idoll, the Angell of darkness can doe this, as hee did the future destruction and ouer-throw of Idolatrie, by the comming of our most blessed Sauour, and the preaching of his Gospell throughout the world; *a fortiori*, or much more can hee fore-see, and fore-tell things of lesse moment, dependent onely on mans free will and determination: such as be, at least way, those which haue no necessary connexion with supernaturall

Aug. lib. de diuinatione dem. tom. 3. Serapis the Idoll, or the diuell in that Idoll, fore-told the ruine of Idolatry by the preaching of the Gospell.

causes or effects, but proceede from man onely as particular naturall cause, and from God as the vniuersall cause and Author of nature.

The Answer.

How the
diuell fore-
told the ru-
ine of Ido-
latri.

To this I answer now briefly (for that this about the predictions of the Diuell shall be treated afterward more largely) that the Diuell could not foresee those events by his owne naturall forces onely (as hath bene already touched in the precedent Chapter) but that hee knew the fore-said effect of the ruine of Idolatri out of the holy Scripture, and particularly, out of the Prophecie of *Sophonias*, cap. 2. where it is said, *Præualebit Deus super deos terræ; Hee will consume all the gods of the earth, and every man shall worship him from his place; even all the Iles of the Heathen. Ex quo loco* (as the Pintian Doctor teacheth) *incipit præsertim prædicatione Euangelij, & visio eadem effectus in abys, facile potuit Scarpio seu pex Idolum, tenebrarum Angelus, eiusmodi præuidere exitum, quia similis sape-*

sapenumero pradicunt damones effecta etiam supernaturalia, ne omnino victi & ignari credantur: & ut diminutionem usurpent qui ante sibi diuinitatem arrogauerant. Yea, oftentimes (as the same Author well noteth) sicut inuisi credunt & contremiscunt, ut habetur Iacobi 2. ita etiam compelluntur aliquando a superiori potestate vera fateri, sicut saepe legimus contigisse: that like as the Diuels doe belceue and tremble, (as is said in the second of Iames) so oftentimes they are compelled of a superiour power to confesse the truth, as wee reade to haue happened oftentimes: but of these matters more largely afterward.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Whether an Angell be alwayes exercising his understanding, so that alwayes hee hath some intellectual operation about somewhat, or rather, sometimes he doth cease from all mentall action?

IN this point wee must distinguish two kindes of intellectuall operations: the first, the supernaturall intuition and direct sight of almighty God, in which I answered to the question proposed, that seeing the blessed neuer leaue to be blessed, neyther can they leaue to haue that operation of vnderstanding which they haue once obtained; for that the principall almost attribute of felicitie, is the perpetuitie and euerlasting continuance; for, certainly it were not of due perfection, if it had not this perpetuitie. Wherefore seeing that it is the act of the greatest perfection

perfection, wee must needs conclude, that according as wee finde in holy Scripture, it must needs haue the fore-said duration without ceasing.

Furthermore, a second knowledge also there is, though naturall, which an Angell doth neuer intermit, that is, the perfect naturall knowledge of his owne perfection and nature. The reason both of this, as of the first two, may be; for that they haue also sufficient species and all other things necessary: and there can be no reason giuen, why they should surcease from the actuall vse of that power.

Secondly, for that supposing that all living creatures doe exercise continually some kind of act of life, it seemeth farre more conuenient, that as the Angell is a more perfect intellectuall Spirit, so should hee be alwayes in some perpetuall intellectuall action, and that naturally.

But if wee consider the Angels in respect of other objects and acts of vnderstanding, besides these two of God, and of himselfe, it seemeth more probable

probable, that which *Thomas* and other Schoole Diuines doe commonly hold, *to wit*, that they are not in perpetuall action; or knowledge of them, for that they hauing the species of all other objects, after the manner of a habite, as our soules haue, it seemeth more proportionate and conuenient, that they may vse them at their pleasure, and not alwayes of necessitie.

CHAP. XXIX.

Whether an Angell can know many things at once, and that whether by discourse or no?

TO the first part I answered briefly, with a distinction, for that the things which an Angell doth vnderstand, eyther are knowne as one whole, as many parts of man which compound one whole; or they are not such as compound one another, as many Men, many Horses, many Lyons. If we consider the Angèlicall knowledge
in

in regard of the first kinde of objects, there is no doubt, but hee may know many of them together; for that man who is farre more imperfect in knowledge, doth so much.

But if wee consider the Angell in respect of those things which are not parts of others, then those kinde of objects, eyther are represented vnto him with one kinde of species, or with diuers kindes of diuers distinct orders: if that wee consider the Angell after the second manner, there is no doubt, but that with diuers kindes of species, hee may at one and the same time know many things, as is most euident in the knowledge, in which consisteth his felicitie, in regard of the essence of God, as his object; and in knowledge of his owne substances; for that the one is by the essence of God concurring intellectually as species with his vnderstanding; but the other by the onely concurrence of the essence of the Angell it selfe, as species of an inferior degree: according to the doctrine of *Aquinas*, *quodlibet* 9. q. 4.

ar. 7. et Caiet. 1. parte. q. 58. ar. 2. neyther doth any Diuine deny this.

The difficultie therefore is onely, whether at one and the same time, the Angell can know many obiects, by diuers infused species of the same kinde and order. In which point, *Durand. 2. d. 3. q. 8. n. 7. Scotus* and *Gregorius Arimenesius*, were of opinion, that it was naturally possible; for that *S. Augustine, lib. 4. super Genesim ad literam, cap. 32. & 34.* doth planely affirme, that an Angell may at one and the same time, know all things which were created in the beginning of the world. *Aquinas, Caietaine*, and the rest of the Thomists doe hold the contrary, and this doth seeme more conformable to the bonds and limits of create faculties; for that this cannot be, neyther by one act of Angelicall vnderstanding, nor by many: not by one, for that of one act there must be one intelligible obiect: not by many, for that as it is impossible that one body should be informed at one time with many colours or figures, so the vnderstanding,

Durand in
2. Sent. d. 3.
q. 8. num. 7.
Scot. lib. 1.
posteriorum
quaestione 1.
ad. 4. argu-
ment. princi-
pale.
Greg. Arim.
in 1. Sent.
dist. 1. q. 1.
ar. 3. & in
2. Sent. dist.
11. quest. 1.
Aug. lib. 4.
sup. Genes.
ad literam,
cap. 34. &
32.
Caiet. &
Aquin su-
pra art. 2.

standing, eyther humane or Angelicall, with so diuers acts of vnderstanding.

To the second point about the Angelicall discourse, I answere, that at least way, in naturall knowledge of naturall things hee hath no discourse, but without any at all, eyther composition or diuision of things, or inferring one thing of another, hee doth perfectly know those things that are within the spheare of his vnderstanding, as *Dionysius cap. 7. de diuinis nominibus*, and *Aquinas* about alledged, ar. 3. & 4. doe teach: for that, that which *Scotus*, in 2. *Sent. dist. 7. q. 1.* doth alledge for the contrary, is not sufficient for discourse, *to wit*, that the effect be knowne by the cause; as that a man is discursive because hee is rationally; but it is necessary, that from the knowledge of the effect, the Angel doe come to the knowledge of the cause; or the contrary, by the cause the effect, as man doth: for otherwise it should consequently be inferred, that God did discourse; which were

were to say hee were imperfect: for that to inferre one thing of another, were no small imperfection, and therefore may be in man, but in an Angell in naturall objects can not be admitted, much lesse in the infinite perfection and independence of the knowledge of almighty God, who as by his immanencie hee is in all places at one and the same time, so by his infinite wisdom, vnderstandeth also without composition or diuision of objects all things in one and the same instant.

CHAP. XXX.

Whether the Angels doe naturally know the inward cogitations of other Angels, or thoughts of men?

*Durand. 2.
Sent. dist. 3.
quest. 7. &
dist. 8. q. 5.*

D*urandus* in the second of the Sentences, affirmeth, that the Angels doe naturally know the thoughts, and free determinations, when they are once

once in *rerum natura*, or produced : so that, that onely is proper vnto Almighty God , *to know these or other things before they be existens*; according to that of the Psalme 138. *intellexti cogitationes meas de longe* : thou hast vnderstood my cogitations a farre off, *to wit* , long before their existence or beeing.

The second opinion in this point, is of *Henricus, quodlibeto. 3. quaest. 14.* who holdeth that though the Angels doe not know the circumstances of the inward cogitations , both of men and other Angels ; yet he thinketh most agreeing to the excellencie of their substance, that they know the entitie and essence of euery act, and inward cogitation.

The third opinion of *Scotus* and *Gabriel* , is , *Angelum sua natura relictum, et non impeditum cernere, & videre posse intuitiue cogitationes, & effectiones, alterius Angeli, modo debitam habuerit, respectu illius approximationem.* That the Angell may see intuitively, that is, as present and perfectly

M

the

Durand.
his opinion
that the
Angels
know the
inward co-
gitations
being once
produced.

The se-
cond opi-
nion of
*Gauden-
sis.*

*Scot. 2. d. 9.
q. 2. & 4 d.
8. q. 10.
Gabriel in
2. d. 9. q. 1.
2. art. 2.*

the cogitations and inward affections of another Angell, if so be that hee be not out of the Spheare of his place. So that according to this opinion, the onely reason why the Angels doe not see thee inward affects, is, because though of their nature they should, yet *de facto* they doe not, because they are hindered by the Author of nature, his concurse being in this substracted, or by some other occult and vnknown way.

The prooffe which *Scotus* giueth of this knowledge due vnto the nature of Angels, is, for that if any reason were of force for the contrary, it must needes be, *quia cogitationes ha sunt liberae, atque adeo pertinent ad ordinem liberum*: because these cogitations are free, and consequently being of a distinct order from other natural things, they are not comprised within the compasse of the obiekt of the angelicall vnderstanding: but this reason is not sufficient, *quia liberum non opponitur cognitioni, sed coactioni*. That which is free or voluntary, is not opposite

Libertie is
opposite to
necessitie,
and coaction
not to know-
ledge.

to

to knowledge, but to coaction or necessitie: wherefore being a naturall object (as all naturall inward cogitations and affects be) consequently they must be contained within the naturall object of the angelicall vnderstanding. Moreover, they hauing the species or intellectuall representations of these cogitations, what should hinder them, but that being left vnto their nature, they should also know as well these, as other spirituall, materiall, and other more excellent and intrinsecall objects, such as the very angelicall nature and powers of his vnderstanding and will be; in which, though these affects be no more determinately then others, or their contrary before their production; yet afterward, they be as determinate in their being and essence, as if they had proceeded from necessary causes: wherefore seeing these necessary effects may be seene euen before their production, much more the other, at least way being once produced or existent.

But heere wee may see the weakene

How the
foresaid
grounds
be not con-
formable
to the ana-
logie of
faith, and
contrary
both to
Scripture
& Fathers.

2 Paralip.
cap. 6.

Psal. 43.
3 Reg. 8.

Ierem. 17.

ness of humane discourse; yea, of the greatest and most subtle Doctors, (such as *Scotus* no doubt was) for that if we duely ponder the holy Scripture, wee shall find, that it is an attribute of Almighty God onely, to be *καρδιω- νάσκς scrutator cordium*; a searcher of the inward affects, or cogitations: so that no Angell or any other creature, how perfect soeuer, may attain to that perfection that he be able to know certainly eyther the inward thought or will of another Angell without the particular reuelation of the diuine Maie- stie. So 2 *Paralipomenon*, cap. 6. it is said, *Tu solus nosti corda filiorum hominum*: *Thou onely knowest the hearts of the sonnes of men*. Againe, the 43. Psalm: *For he knoweth the secrets of mens hearts*; as who would say, none but he can attaine vnto this. And againe, the 13. of *Ieremie*, cap. 17. *Præ- uum est cor hominis & inscrutabile, & quis cognoscet illud? Ego Dominus. The heart of man is euill and inscrutable, and who shall know it? I the Lord.*

Secondly, the Fathers doe speake

in this point. as in a thing most certaine in faith. *Cyrill* in his second Booke vpon *Iohn*, cap. 19. *Nulli alij sed Diuina tantummodo natura Propheta attribuit illud scrutans corda & renes Deus.* The Prophet attributeth to the Diuine nature alone, to be searcher of the hearts and reines. And *Chrysostome* in the 30. Homily vpon Saint *Matthew*, *Solius est Dei mentem atque animos hominum cognoscere.* It is onely belonging to almighty God to know the inward affects and cogitations of men. *Origenes* lib 10. in *Iob*, about the midst, explicating that of the first of *Iob*, *Circumui terram*, &c. *I haue compassed the earth*: plainly teacheth, *nescire Demoni quæ in corde atque animo tractantur.* That the Diuell is altogether ignorant of those things which passe in a mans heart: and this also is the opinion of *Athanasius*, *Beda*, *Theophylactus*, and Saint *Austine*. And was one of the arguments and evidences of the Diuinitie of our blessed Saviour, *Matth. 9. Luke 11.* which consequently had not beene sufficient if the

Cyri. lib. 2. in Ioh. cap. 19. & lib. 3. c. 3. & lib. 3. cap. 9. Ambros. orat. de obitu. Theodos. Chrysost. hom. 30. in Mat. & 23. in Ioh. Amb. etiam Rom. 3. & 1 cor. 2. & in Luc. 9. Et cognauit Iesus cogitationes eorum, dixit ad illos, quid cogitatum est in cordibus vestris? Pbi etiam Beda & Theophil. in Mat. 9. Dimast. lib. 2. fides c. 4. August. de ecclesiast. dogmatibus. cap. 81. & lib. 12. cont. Faust. c. 8. tract. 22. & 33. in Ioh. 1.

et a retrahit.
cap. 30. ubi
limitat quod
dixerat lib.
de diuina-
tionem eman.

Angels could naturally attaine vnto this excellencie.

To this so euident a conclusion, out of holy Scripture and Fathers, our aduersaries pretend some shew of answer, to wit, (as *Gabriel* one of the most accute Schoolmen interpreteth) *Intelligenda esse illa Scriptura loca quod solus Deus vniuersa secreta necessario, & non impedibiliter cognoscit*: that those places of Scripture are to be vnderstood, so that God onely doth necessarily and without any impediment possible vnderstand and comprehend the fryd obiects of the most inward thoughts, affects, and cogitations, which by the substruction of the concurrence of Almighty God, or by some other externe meanes, may be hidden both to men and Angels.

But this certainly is so absurd, that it needeth no other reply or answer to any that doth but onely read the authorities before alledged; for who doeth not see but that this is rather *deludere* then *respondere*, as a late Salamantine, professor of Diuinitie, well presseth:

The absurdity of the answer of *Gabriel* & other Deuines, to the fore-said places of Scripture.
Curiel de Angelis, his refutation of the fore-said answer.

presseth : Quoniam eadem ratione dici etiam posset, quod solus Deus cognoscit, Solem, Lunam, Astra, Terram, & reliqua eiusmodi, vel hominibus etiam notissima, intendit igitur Scriptura loco Paralipomenon citato, [tu solus nosti corda filiorum hominum] quod solus Deus potest retribuere, quia ipse solus nouit corda unde cuncta bona vel mala promanant opera.

The proofes of this secrecy of mans heart onely patent to almighty God, be first his will, which we haue already sufficiently shoune out of Fathers, and Scripture it selfe. Secondly, the reason of this his Deuine decree, is for the great inconueniences which would ensue of the contrary, if mans cogitations should be open vnto, eyther man or Angell, of their owne nature : yea, thirdly, euen the perfection of angelicall and humane nature requireth this kinde of prouidence, that seeing he is subiect onely to almighty God as to his efficient cause, & Maker; and ordained to enioy him only, as his finall end and eternall blisse: so it seemeth altogether

ther conuenient, that he should be subiect to none in the foresaid respect, which subiection without doubt, were a great seruitude, miserie, and imperfection, both to man and Angels.

But some peradventure will say, as hath beene already touched, *What? haue not the Angels the Species, representations, or intellectuall formes, of all inferiour things, euen of the most inward cogitations and thoughts?* Which if it be so, as most doe holde, to haue beene given them euen from the first instant of their creation: for that, without all doubt, they were created perfect, as well in their intellectuall power, apt presently to vnderstand all things within the limits of their knowledge, as in their substanciall nature and essence. Why then, I say, doe they not vnderstand euery thing that is possible to be knowen by them any manner of way: and consequently, the acts both of the will and vnderstanding?

To this I answer, that the reasons of not vnderstanding, or not penetrating

ting these inward thoughts, are given already. But moreover, I answere to that of the species which are of their owne nature, so apt for their due exercise of representing, or at least way of concurring eyther effectuely or formally to this representation: to this I say, that their nature, as commonly Diuines doe now hold, is such, that their concurrence doth depend wholly vpon his will that is to be vnderstood: so that they may be cause of the foresayd representation, and yet be but as the fire without application. By these testimonies and reasons heere proposed, may easily be refuted all those opinions which in some sort seeme to giue too much to angelicall nature; in seeing into the hearts and soules most inward secrecy; as of

* Durand. Scot. Ocham. Greg. Arimenes. Egid. Rom. Thom. Argen. Han. quodlib. & Herim 2. d. 8. q. 3. who though they differ about the foresayd points, yet do all somewhat yeeld to the enlarging of the naturall Spheare of the knowledge of Angels.

* Durand.
dist. 3. q. 7.
& 8.
Scot. in 4 d.
10. ad 3.
* Och. 2. sen.
Dist. 9. q. 2.
ar. 2. &
lect. 31. in
can. missa.
Greg. Ari.
2. Sent.
dist. 10. ar. 1
Egid. Rom.
lib. de cogn.
Angelorum.
quest. 11.
Thom. Arg.
in 2. Sent.
dist. 7. q. 1.
ar. 2.
Han. quod.
lib. 3. c. 13.
Herim. 2.
d. 8. q. 3.

CHAP. XXXI.

Whether the Angels doe speake one
to another? and how that is?

Esay 6.1.3.

THis about the Angelicall locution
or tongue, hath beene an ancient
question amongst the Fathers, ground-
ed in diuers places of Scripture,
wherein the Angels are said to speake;
as *Esaias* the 6. Chapter, *Seraphim sta-*
bant super illud, &c. Et clamabant alter
ad alterum, & dicebant Sanctus, San-
ctus, Sanctus Dominus, &c. The *Sera-*
phims stood upon it: Every one had sixe
wings, &c. And one cryed to another,
and said holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God
of Hostes: the whole earth is full of his
glory. And *Zachary* the second; *Ecce*
Angelus, qui loquebatur in me, egredie-
batur, & alius Angelus egrediebatur in
occursum eius, & dixit ad eum: Be-
hold, the Angell which spake in me, went
forth, and another Angell went forth to
meete him, and said unto him. And this
not

not onely in the Olde Testament, but more expressely in the new; *Apocal. 7.* & *I Cor. 13.* *Si linguis hominum loquar, & Angelorum; Though I speake with the tongues of men and Angels. Etsi enim,* as *Zanchius* well noteth, *proprie hic non loquatur Apostolus, sed interpretatus, & per concessionem, seu ex hypothesi, ut dicunt, tamen non pauci ex veteribus ita hunc locum sunt interpretati, ut hanc etiam occasionem acceperint, de linguis Angelorum disputandi:* for although (saith this Author, and Saint *Hierome* long before him) the Apostle doth not speake here properly, but Hyperbolically, yet many of the ancient Doctors haue hereupon taken occasion of disputing of the tongues, or Angelicall speech. Wherefore my first assertion in this point, shall be that of *S. Hierome*, *Illud immobiliter tenendum esse, nullo modo in silentio agi militiae caelestis officia, cum legamus Angelicas potestates, ante sedem Domini in laudem gloriae eius, indefessis vocibus personare, neq; ullo modo dixisset Apostolus, si linguis hominum loquar,*

Zanch. de operibus sex dicum, l. 3. cap. 19.

Hier. tom. 7. in Job. c. 24. pag. 187.

This is against Zanchius, who holdeth that the Angels may exercise these corporall actions in assumed bodies of ayre.

Angelorum, nisi sic essent Angelorum lingua, sicut et hominum, quamvis Angelica dissimiles sunt humanis. This is to be holden without all doubt, (saith this Doctor) that supposing the foresaid places of scripture, the Angels haue their manner of tongues, though different from all humane, without all corporall motion, or sound, except it be in the bodyes they assume, in which though they seeme to speake, by motion of the ayre, yet (as hath beene before proued) they can haue no true vitall locution or vocall speech in the said bodies; for that this should proceede from a vitall, proportionate, and corporall power or cause, such as the Angell hath none.

The difficultie therefore wholly consisteth in the manner of this spirituall or intellectuall speech, or expressing of the Angelicall thoughts of one to another. In which, as in almost all other things, not certainly determined of, neither by the Scripture, nor by the definitions of the Church, there be many opinions.

Whereof

Whereof the first related by *Durand*, is of some Diuines, who holde that this vnderstanding or manifestation of the Angelicall minde, of one to another, is, *per figuras quasdam & characteres, quos in cælis imprimunt*; By certaine Figures and Characters, which they impresse in the heauens. But this, as *Durand* well presseth, is most friuolous; *Nam cum cælum sit impassibile, & ipsi Angeli per se incorporei, non apparet quo pacto in cælo possint, aut per actionem aliquam imprimere, aut per sui aliquem contactum designare in cælo vllas figuras*; for that, seeing the impassibilitie of the one, and spiritualitie of the other, this seemes no proportionate meanes of this their spirituall locution or speech.

The second opinion is of *Durand* himselfe, that the Angels doe by most cleare, euident, and expresse signes and mentall tokens, expresse the most inward, hidden, and secret cogitations. But this hath more difficulty then he first, because it doth not expresse, nor can, how these externe or lesse
secret,

*Durand. 2.
dist. 11. q. 2*

secret, and more euident tokens are vnderstood by another Angell.

The third also is of the same Doctor, *to wit*, the Angels doe so vnderstand one another, by formes and figures framed by them in the ayre. But this may be refuted by the same reasons that the first: especially, by reason of the excellency of Angelicall nature, which consequently requireth independence of all corporall Creatures; yea, this is the difference betweene the pure spirit, and that which is not.

The fourth opinion is of *Scotus*, *Vnum scilicet Angelum per hoc loqui alteri, quod in eius intellectu, effectiue imprimat conceptum similem conceptui suo, nimirum de eadem re; ad quem non concurrat alter Angelus nisi passiue, ac proinde non se habere illum ut videntem, sed ut audientem alterum*; that one Angell doth vnderstand another, and speake vnto him spiritually, by a spiritual forme or representation, which he impresseth in the vnderstanding of the Angell to whom he speaketh.

But

But this is to speake without all ground or reason; for first, this forme hath as much difficultie in the vnderstanding of it, as the act it selfe, which it should represent: secondly, this is impossible to be impressed in almighty God, to whom neuerthelesse, the Angels are said to speake.

Wherefore the fift and most probable opinion, is that of *Aquinas*, *Caietane*, *Gabriel*, and *Capreolus*, that thereby the Angels speake one to another, because that by their will they do subordinate or ordaine their inward acts vnto others, so to be vnderstood by them: so that also the inward representations or species they haue of these inward cogitations eyther of man or Angell, are in their representation dependent on the Angelicall will of him that speaketh: for that, as the naturall and necessary objects are vnderstood by these kindes of formes, or representations independent on the will of man or Angell, supposing the due and proportionate application of the object; in like manner, it seemeth most

con-

conformable to reason, that those voluntary and inward obiects, appertayning to another distinct order of obiects, from the rest; should haue their formes, species, or representations by which they are to be vnderstood, so dependent on the will of him that is said to speake after the foresaid spirituall manner, that it be altogether subordinate vnto his disposition.

But to speake ingeniously in this matter, so farre exceeding humane capacitie, I thinke that most certaine, which Saint *Austine* pronounceth; *neq; sciri neq; affirmari posse quam ratione Angeli vel ad aurem forinsecus, vel in animo intus hominibus loquantur, aut aliquando loquuti sunt;* That it cannot be declared, neyther how the Angels doe outwardly speake vnto vs in our eares; neyther how inwardly in our hearts: and the same is of one Angell to another.

CHAP. XXXII.

Whether an Angell can naturally know the myserie of the Incarnation, or any other myserie of our Faith?

Scotus in the 4. Booke of his Sentences, the 10. Distinction, question 8. doth affirme that Angels doe naturally know the Mysteries of our Faith, after they are once effected, though before their actuall production they in no wise can attaine to any such knowledge: the reason of this so extraordinary opinion of *Scotus* may be, for that being once effected they are within the spheare of entity, which is the object of Angelicall vnderstanding.

Neuerthelesse, this opinion is altogether improbable, wherefore that this may be vnfolded and vnderstood, wherein the difficultie doth consist, we must distinguish, as before, of supernaturall things: for that some are su-

N

per-

Diuers
kindes of
supernatu-
rall things.

pernaturall onely, *quoad modum*, that is, in their manner of production, because that they could not haue beene produced of any naturall cause, but onely by the omnipotent hand of God, though in themselues and proper nature, they be nothing else but naturall entities, and within natures order: as for example, the giuing of sight vnto the blinde; for who can doubt but that the sight hath a naturall essence onely, nothing in his proper being exceeding nature, but that being lost it cannot be naturally restored againe? Wherefore in the manner of the production of it there may be, and is, required supernaturall concurrence, not for that his nature requireth it absolutely, but onely for the recovery of it after the losse, or for the first production of it when naturall causes could not haue their due course, by reason of some extrinsecall impediments. Wherefore as touching these kindes of supernaturall Mysteries, in the manner onely supernaturall, there is no question but that the Angels may naturally

turally know them, though not the manner of their production; the essence (I say) they may know of any such, for that all naturall things are within the spheare of man, much more of an Angell; but the manner of their production, for that being in it selfe supernaturall, it hath no proportion with the naturall faculties and force of Angelicall vnderstanding.

Againe, other things there be, which not onely in their manner of production be supernaturall, but also euen in their very essence and being; as the mysterie of the Incarnation of the second Person of the blessed Trinitie, and the hypostaticall vnion betweene the Person of the eternall Vword of GOD, and humane nature; the iustification of the wicked by grace, as also other like diuine and inherent gifts, bestowed as well vpon mans as Angelicall nature; as well here in this life, as in the other of perfect felicitie: and these I say, are knowne by supernaturall cooperation of God with the vnderstanding of the Angels, the light of

glory being infused into their vnderstanding, and the diuine essence concurring with them to produce the act of vnderstanding, in which consisteth their felicitie, in which also, and by which, they see all things due vnto their so happy an estate, and consequently, those things which belong vnto Faith, and of which they had but an obscure knowledge before their supernaturall blessednesse, while they were *in via* (as the Diuines say) and not *comprehensores*, that is, did not enjoy the sight and fruition of almighty God; but onely as farre as nature would reach, which was onely to know him as cause of naturall things, and not of any supernaturall; such as is for example, the mysterie of the Incarnation, albeit it is most certaine the Angels knew it by Faith, while they were but as yet in the way vnto their eternall felicitie, according to that of Saint Austine; *nec Angelis latuit mysterium regni Cælorum, quod oportuno tempore reuelatum est pro salute nostra, quo ex hac perigrinatione liberati eorum carni*

*Aug. 8. sup.
Genes. ad li.
teram. 5. 19.*

causis coniunguntur; neyther were the Angels ignorant of the mysterie of the Kingdome of Heauen, the which for our saluation, at due and opportune time was reuealed: by which being deliuered out of the troubles and miseries of this peregrination, wee are ioyned vnto that company. Secondly, for that all Angels obtained their eternall blisse by the merits of our Saviour, therefore it was meete, that that mysterie, by which they obtained their glory, should be reuealed vnto them, even while they were but onely *viatores*, that is, before they came to their last and most blessed, and supernaturall end of seeing of God: all which in the matter of Incarnation, is more largely proued & demonstrated. Lastly, and especially, for that all were ministers, or as it were messengers or seruants to those that by this minitlerie obtaine saluation, and therefore at least those that now are the blessed Angels, had before their supernaturall blisse, this knowledge of the Incarnation of the second person of the blef-

The Angels obtained their eternall blisse by the merits of our blessed Saviour.

Thom. supra
ar. 5.
Dion. Areop.
de celesti
Hierar. c. 7.

fed Trinitie; though of the particular circumstances, neyther the blessed Angels had perfect knowledge, according as *Thomas*, and *Dyonisius* doe seeme to hold.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of the operations of the Angelicall will.

Supposing that the Angels be intellectuall Creatures, it is manifest, that also they must of necessitie be indued with the facultie of will; it remaineth therefore onely to examine what kinde of acts this facultie can exercise; but first of all, and principally, what acts of loue it doth exercise.

To this I answere, that according to three sundry heads, the Angelicall loue may be three-fold: for if we consider the Angell in regard of his power and facultie, this Angelicall loue may

may be diuided into naturall, and supernaturall loue; Naturall loue is that which the will hauing within his spheare of actiuitie, can without any supernaturall grace, help, or power, produce by his owne naturall faculcie: supernaturall loue is that which the Angelicall power in no wise can attaine vnto without supernaturall help: for that the Angelicall essence being naturally according to the common acception and definition of nature, it cannot operate or effectuate any thing which is not contained in that object of nature. Wherefore Saint *Austine*, in his 21. Booke *de Cinitate Dei*, cap. 8. saith of this kinde of loue, *Fuisse charitatem hanc diffusam in mentibus etiam Angelorum per Spiritum sanctum, qui datus fuit illis*: That this loue was diffused in the Angelicall will also, as well as in mans. But how? Not by naturall power and force, but by the holy Ghost, *qui datus fuit illis*, which was giuen vnto them, as well as to men: for that otherwise it was as impossible a matter for them to attaine vnto any

*Aug. de Ci-
uitate Dei,
lib. 12. c. 8.*

Rom. 5.
Videantur
Aquinas.
Molin. Pas-
quet & alij
in 1. partem.
q. 60. ar. 1.
¶ 2.

supernaturall action, as for man, of whom the fore-said wordes were principally meant by the Apostle, but are rightly applyed by S. *Austine*, *Aquinas*, and other Schoole Diuines, vnto all supernaturall motions of the will, whether they be humane or angelical. And this supernaturall loue all the Angels had, euen from the first instant of their creation, as well those which afterward fell from the state of grace, as those which perseuered in the fauor of their creator; for that all angels, as afterward thal more largely be proued, were created in grace, and consequently had from the beginning of their creation, sufficient power & help for to produce these supernaturall acts of Charitie, and loue towards their G O D, and Creator.

Secondly, *Aquinas*, in the place aboue alledged, with all other Schoole Diuines, doe deuide the Angelicall loue in *amorem amicitia* & *concupiscentia*, into a loue of friendship, & loue of concupiscentie. The loue of friendship is that perfect loue wherewith the Angelicall

or

or humane will, doth embrace any thing, not for any externall respects, eyther to it selfe, or any other thing, but onely for the intrinsecall excellencie and goodnesse the obiect hath in it selfe, as for example: that loue wherewith one man loueth another, and wisheth him all good and felicitie, not for that his friend is good vnto him, doth fauour, help, or defend him, or any other such motiues taken from himselfe, but onely because hee is *bonus in se*, though not *ex se*, hee is good in himselfe, though not of himselfe, and so deserueth of himselfe to be loued, honoured, and respected: this is that perfect loue of friendship, which the Diuines doe tearme *amor amicitie*: so in the Angell, that loue is called *amor amicitie*, wherewith hee loueth almightie God, not onely because God is good vnto him, and hee hath all his beeing and good from Gods bountie, but because hee is so good and excellent in himselfe, that all honour, loue, worship, and affection possible is due vnto him.

The

What kind
of loue doe
many Di-
uines deny
to be in
Heauen,
euen to-
wards
God him-
selfe.

The second member of the fore-
said distinction is *amor concupiscentia*, *to wit*, that loue wherewith an
Angell or man doth loue any object,
not so much for that it is good in it
selfe indeed (as almighty God is by his
owne nature and essence) but because
it is an object conuenient or good for
him and to him; which loue, for his
imperfection, many Diuines hold is
not in Heauen, whereall things be in
greatest perfection; and consequently
those things which may seeme to par-
ticipate of the least imperfection ima-
ginable, are thence excluded, where S.
Iohn saith, nothing coinquinat, defil-
ed, spotted, or imperfect, may en-
ter.

Thirdly, the operations of the
angelicall will are deuised into neces-
sary or naturall acts of loue, and into
free: those are called necessary, in re-
gard of which though there be no
compulsion or coaction, yet he so ne-
cessarily concurrerh vnto them that in
no wise hee can cease from producing
such acts of loue. Such is the feruent
loue

loue which the blessed Angels now enjoy in Heauen, which doth follow as a necessary proprietie to the blessed sight of the essence of Almighty God, nor by obscure enigmaes, or in any create species or glasse, but with all claritie, face to face, as a friend vseth to speake to his friend, as Saint *Austine*, Saint *Ambrose*, *Basil*, *Hugo de sancto victore*, *Abulensis*, *Lyra*, *Casertan*, and many other Diuines doe hold of *Moyse*, that hee saw the very essence of Almighty God, out of *Exodus* the 23. & *Num.*

12. The reason of this so necessarie and inforcing loue, is, for that the vnderstanding of the blessed Angels, which now enjoy the perfect intellectuall sight and fruition of Almighty God, being comforted with a supernatural qualitie which the diuines call, *lumen gloria*, the light of glorie: according to that of *Dauid*, *in lumine tuo videbimus lumen*, in thy light wee shall see the most perfect light of thy essence and being. Thus, I say, the Angels hauing their vnderstanding perfected, and as it were eleuated, they seeing

1. ad 13.
Augu. epist.
 112. c. 12.
 & 13. &
 12. ad Gen.
 ad litteram
 cap. 27.
Amb. 1. lib.
Exam. c. 2.
Basil. 1. Exam.
ambr. parum
a principio.
Hug. de S.
vict. 1. tom.
in quast. in
epist. 2. ad
Cor. q. 34.
Abulen. in
c. 5. Mat. q.
46. ad 4. &
in cap. 12.
Num. q. 34.
idem Nicol.
de Lyra, in
Exod. c. 33.
Aquin. 1. p.
q. 12. ar. 11
 & 2. 2. q.
 174.
Uur. in 4.
d. 46. q. 6.
num. 5.

ing that which is *omne bonum*, that which is nothing but goodnesse it selfe, their wils, as it were, are rauished with the beautie of so excellent and deuine an obiect, in such sort they cannot chuse but loue that, in which they see not any thing, but their perfectest obiect in his greatest perfection; for if the will by her naturall inclination be bent to anything whatsoever is represented vnto it as good; yea, and the greater good doeth more incline the will, consequently, if we consider the will in regard of that which is nothing but goodnesse it selfe, al perfection, excellency and beautie in the highest degree imaginable, yea more then imaginable, the inclination consequently of the will, whether it be Angelicall or humane, must of necessitie be of such force, and efficacie, that it cannot but produce some act of loue: yea, a most perfect act, wherewith it may embrace so rauishing and inforcing an obiect proposed vnto it.

But if wee consider the angelicall will, in respect of any other obiect which

which hath no necessary connexion with the foresaid blessed vision of Gods diuine essence, most certaine it is, that the Angell is not ordinarily so constrained or rauished with the beautie of the obiekt: but that it may freely cease from the louing of such inferior excellencies; or at least, if at any time, according as shall afterward be declared, it be forced or forceably attracted, with the beautie and sweetnesse of the thing represented, yet not in so high and excellent a degree as with the former: for that the more perfect the obiekt is, according to the representation of it, the more it doth attract and force the will: God therefore beeing *summum bonum*, the chiefeft good; he must needs *summe attrahere*, most attract, & allure the creatures loue, if he be represented vnto the will (which of it selfe is but a blinde facultie) as he is in himselfe *summum bonum*, as he is in very deede represented vnto the blessed Angels and soules in heauen by that act and operation of their intellectuall facultie, in which formally
confi-

Aquin Ca-
ret. & Tho-
mista 1. p. q.
26. ar. 2.
Durand. 4.
dist. 49.
Scot. eadem
q. 1. ar. 3.
Ferrara 3.
contra gent.
c. 25. & 26.
August. lib.
de spirit. &
litera. c. 33.
& 1. de tri-
nit. c. 8. &
ser. 112. de
tempore.
Innocent. 3.
lib. 3. de of-
ficio Missa.
c. 8. & 29.
Laurent.
Iustin. in 1.
fasciculo a-
moru. c. 26.
Rupert. &
Lyra in
Ioan. c. 17.
Cyrril. lib. 7.
contra Iuli-

consisteth their happinesse and blisse ,
as most Diuines doe now holde with
Aquinas, Caietane, Castro, Conradus,
Durandus, Scotus, Ferrara, Austine, Ira-
neus, Basilus, Anselme, Cyrill, Theopi-
lactus, and Hilarius.

But peraduenture some will de-
maund, whether an Angell doe natu-
rally loue God, or any other Angell
better then himselfe, and that with na-
turall loue; for that with supernaturall
there is no doubt but hee loueth God
about all things whatsover.

To the first point I answere, that it
seemeth more probable that which
the Thomists doe hold against the
Scotists; *to wit*, that euery good An-
gell doeth naturally loue God more
then himselfe. For that euery thing
is more inclined to loue that thing
most of which it most dependeth, and
to which it is ordained as to his last
end: so we see, that the part naturally

an. & nihil autem. Irenaeus lib. 4. contra Hereses, cap. 37. num. 6. & 7.
Basil. lib. constitutionum monast. cap. 19. Anselmus in monologio, cap.
66. 67. & 69. Cyril. iterum lib. 2. Iohau. cap. 16. Theophilact in eundem
locum. Alphonsus de Castro verbo beatitudo, qui pro hoc etiam adducit
Hilarium.

doth

doth expose it selfe to any danger for the conseruation of the whole, of which it dependeth: wherefore, seeing that euery creature doth depend more of almighty God, then the parts of the whole, it followeth, that as the parts doe naturally with a more appretiate loue, loue the whole of which they depend, so the Angels as long as they haue their will rectified (as all the good Angels alwayes haue) must needs loue God with a more esteeming and perfect loue then themselues; seeing they wholly are dependent of him, more then the parts are on the whole: yea, are more perfectly in him, then in themselues, for as much as hee is the eminent and perfect cause of all things.

To the second part of the question, I answere, that surely according to the principles of Philosophy, euery Angell doth loue himselfe with a more appretiate loue, then hee doth any other Angell. This is cleare out of the Philosopher in the 9. Booke of his *Æthicks*, where hee putteth as a most firme axiome and ground of morall doctrine,

doctrine, [*amicabilia qua sunt ad alterum, venire ex amicabilibus qua sunt ad se*] that those things which are loued by reason of the connexion or communication they haue with other things, must needs argue more loue to the things for which they are loued; seeing therefore that one Angell doth naturally loue another, by reason of the similitude of nature, participated and communicated vnto both, consequently he must of necessity loue himselfe with a more appretiatiue loue and effect.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

When, and by what meanes, haue the blessed Angels obtained their last ende and chiefeft felicitie.

Supposing that, as wee haue briefly before touched, and shall be afterward declared more at large, the essentiall beautitude as well of Angels as
of

of men, consisteth in the cleare, euident, and perfect sight of the Diuine essence; and consequently of all his attributes, mercy, iustice, omnipotence, science, will, and the like; it remaineth now to be examined, whether the Angels were created with this felicitie or no? but rather after some triall, as it were *in via, in the way*; as the Diuines tearme it. So that those that persevered in the rectitude & grace in which they were created, obtained this their happinesse: others *in quibus inuenta est iniquitas*, in whom sinne was found, being depriued of that gracious garment, and destitute, by their wickednesse, of all hope of obtaining that for which they were created, were precipitate from the place and naturall felicitie in which they were created.

As touching which point, wee are first to vnderstand, that though all the angels were created in their natural felicitie, which consisteth in the naturall knowledge and loue of almighty God: yet that it is most certaine also they

O

were

1. part.
quæst. 62.
Sal. Lorca,
Nauverret,
Ægid. and
others, 1. 2.
quæst. 6. &
1. p. q. 12.

Psal. 16.

Isa. 14.

Aug. lib. 11.
de ciuit. Dei.
cap. 13. &
eodem 2. lib.
cap. 23.

were not all created in supernaturall blisse; yea, that as it is a matter of faith to beleue that many of them, *to wit*, the diuels, shall neuer obtaine it, so it is no lesse that they neuer attained vnto it: for as *Aquinas*, *Salas*, *Nauverret*, *Lorca*, and *Ægidius* doe demonstrate, if they had once seene cleerely the diuine essence, they could not afterward haue sinned, for that impeccabilitie hath necessary, yea essentiall connexion with this supernaturall felicitie; also if they had bene once blessed; they could not haue desired any thing more, according to the *Psalme* 16. *Satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua: When thy glory and my last felicitie shall appeare, then shall I be satiate and all my desires fulfilled.* But it is euident that his appetites were not satisfied, who, as the Prophet *Isaias* witnesseth, said, *I will ascend into Heauen, and will be like vnto the highest.* Saint *Austine* therefore in his 11. Booke *De ciuitate Dei*, *cap.* 13. plainly sayth, that the diuels had neuer that beatitude, *quam habere Angelos lucis pia fide credimus:* Which

Which we piously believe the good Angels have obtained. And againe, in another place, Diabolus (inquit) beatæ atque Angelicæ vitæ dulcedinem non gustavit, quam non vniq; acceptâ fastidivit, sed nolendo accipere deseruit & amisit. The Devil (saith S. Austine) neuer tasted the sweetenesse of the blessed Angelicall life, and therefore did not loath it, hauing neuer receiued it, but rather lost it, by the refusing of it. Wherefore those places of Scripture which seeme to asseuere the contrary, are to be vnderstood of the naturall beatitude in which all the Angels were created; and of that grace with which also all of them were indued from the first instant of their creation: and thus is to be vnderstood that which might be obiected out of Isaiah, Ezechiel, Iohn, cap. 8. and Saint Austine lib. 11. de ciuitate Dei, cap. 13.

Secondly, we must vnderstand that neither the good and most blessed Angels were created with their supernaturall beautitude, as all Diuines with the Master of the sentences, and Aquinas, doe hold; and is plainly conuin-

Isa. 14.
Ezech. 18.
Augu. quo
supra.
Ioh. c. 8.

Theol. Ma-
gistra in 2.
sent. dist. 4.
q. 5. & 4.
quin. 1 p.

ced by them, by the assigning of the difference which is betweene naturall and supernaturall felicitie: because the naturall beatitude of the Angels is most proportionate vnto their nature, the supernaturall in no wise: wherefore, seeing that all the angelicall substances were created perfect in that which was due vnto them by nature, and consequently in their vnderstanding, it must needs follow, that euen by their owne substances and essence they had a most perfect naturall knowledge of God: But on the contrary side seeing that supernaturall beatitude is not due, not euen to the most perfect Angell possible, there was no cause why it should be giuen vnto the Angels from their first creation.

But peradventure some will vrge, why then was it giuen vnto the humanie of Christ our Sauour, euen from the first instant of his most blessed and pure conception? To this I answere, that hee being the sonne of God, and that not by adoption onely, but euen by nature, it was a thing most proportionate

tionate and due vnto his hypostaticall vnion with the second person of the blessed Trinitie, that heeshould euen from the first instant enioy the supernaturall blisse which all others are to attaine for him, and by his merits.

CHAP. XXXV.

In which the subiect of the precedent Chapter is proficuted, and declared the means by which the good Angels obtained their eternall felicitie.

ONE of the chiefe difficulties of this matter or subiect which wee treat of is, to explicate by what acts the Angels obtained their end and felicitie, and how the Angelicall instances correspondent vnto our time and duration, as also to our more grosse vnderstanding, are to be denided, and vnderstood; in which question there be three things, in which all Diuines

agree and one onely point in controverſie and diſputation.

First therefore, all doe agree that there was ſome delay betweene the creation of the Angels and their laſt ende either of eternall bliſſe or eternall damnation and curſe: which delay or duration is called the continuance of the ſtate of their way, *via illorum per quam in ultimum ſuum finem tendebant omnes*, by which all of them were ordained to haue obtained their finall felicitie: and this firſt angelicall inſtant may be vnderſtood by the analogie, or like proportion of ſpace of our time, which was, or maybe imagined, to haue beene before the fall of the bad Angels, and exaltation vnto euerlaſting glory of the good.

Secondly, all doe agree, that the foreſaid ſpace was but very ſhort, though it cannot be determinately knowne how little a ſpace it was. For as it is apparant out of the Booke of *Genefis*, the diuel, or bad ſpirit and Angell, enuying the happineſſe of man placed in Paradife, and in the fauour
and

and grace of God, tempted him, and this presently after the creation of all things. Moreover, Christ himselfe in the 8. of *S. Iohn* signifieth; *that the diuell sinned euen from the beginning*, that is, presently after his creation, as Saint *Austine* gathereth by this testimonie of our Saviour. Finally, for that such is the nature and inflexible disposition of the Angels, that in no wise, or vvith great difficultie, they can be changed from that which they haue once embraced; wherefore there was no ende, why there should be granted vnto them any long space after their creation.

Thirdly, all doe agree, that all the Angels, as well the blessed as the accursed, had equall space before the obtaining of their finall blisse or curse: for that presently after the conformitie of the good with the will of almighty God, and the cooperation with his grace, these obtained an everlasting crowne of glory; the bad also in the same space, being found disobedient, disloyall, *in veritate, & in rectitudine*

Genes. 1.

Ioan. 8.

*Aug. lib. 2.
super Genesim
ad literam,
cap. 16*

All the angels had equall space before the attayning vnto their eternall blisse.

Expositores
Magistri
Sententiarum.
in 2. Sent. d.
3. 4. 5. 6.
Comment. 23.
res Thoma,
1. p. 9. 62.
Lombardus
2. Sent. d. 5.

The first
opinion of
the Angels
obtaining
of eternall
blisse, by
the merits
which
they were
to have
now in
their end.
Heb. 1. 14.

instabiles, they were addicted presently vnto eternall paine, as all Schoole Diuines with *Lombard* do write, 2. *Sent. dist. 3. 4. & 5.* And the expoliters of *Thomas*, in the first part of his Summe. q. 62.

Now therefore these things being supposed, as in which all doe agree; one of the most abstruse and hidden difficulties (as I haue partly noted) in this matter, is, to declare how the good Angels obtained their blisse: in which the first opinion is of the Master of the Sentences; that the Angels did nothing in all their first *morula* or instant, by which they obtained their supernaturall felicitie, but that this vvas giuen them, in the end of their way, or first instant, for their merits, which they were to haue afterward, being altogether in their end and blisse, being obedient vnto almighty God, euery one in his seuerall ministry: because all of them, euen as yet, are ministring Spirits, sent out to minister, &c.

Against this is the common opinion and argument of other Diuines,
wich

with *Thomas* above cited; for that as it is vnpossible for a man to be ioyntly at his end, and to be moued thereunto; so it is vnpossible for any creature, or Angell, to be in his last felicitie, and to be moued thereunto by merits or workes which then hee doth, hauing already obtained his end, for which those workes were ordained.

But because this reason may peradventure admit some calumniation, I adde one more firme, *scilicet*, that seeing the Angels that are now endued with the light of glory, are also confirmed in grace, and are conformable in all things, to the will of their Creator and Glorifier. Hereupon it proceedeth, that they cannot in the least thing or circumstance, disobey, or disagree, from that they know to be his diuine will, wherefore seeing that they haue no libertie in this, consequently they haue neyther power to merit nor demerit.

The second opinion agreeth with the first, so that they both affirme, that the Angels did not obtaine their beatitude

D. Thomas
quæst. 1. ar. 4

A more
forcible
reason,

The second opinion that the Angelicall sight of God was both the crowne of their merit, and the merit it selfe.

The like is said of the damnation of the peccating Angels.

titude by any operations which they exercised *in via*, in their way, before their blisse: but they disagree, in that the Doctors of this second sentence, affirme, that the Angels in the end of their way, ioyntly deserued their beatitude, and receiued it as a reward and crowne of their obedience: so that the same act of charitie of the good Angels, by which they then loued their glorifier, considered, as proceeding from their free-will, adorned and holpen by the grace of God, was (as they speake) meritorious of the sight of the diuine essence, but considered as tending onely to the diuine object clearely seene *facie ad faciem, sine speculo & enigmate*, and as it was a most perfect fruition of the same, so these Doctors hold, that it was not meritorious, but rather an act of beatitude, obtained by it selfe in the former consideration.

After the same manner, according to this second opinion, the bad Angels being disobedient vnto the will of their Creator, in the end of this their Angelicall instant, by a like act, correspondent

respondent vnto the fore-said of the good Angels, and in the same moment also were condemned vnto euerm-lasting punishment; so that in the same instant they had their demerit, sinne, transgression, and punishment thereof. This opinion is related by the Master of the Sentences, and defended by *Thomas Aquinas*, *Bonaventure*, *Marsilius*, *Egidius*, and many other ancient Doctors, as *Aquinas* doth testifie, saying that it was then the common opinion of the Doctors of his time.

But this may easily be conuincd as false, and altogether improbable, for that all merit must needs presuppose Faith; seeing that as the Apostle, *Heb. xi.* saith, *Without Faith it is impossible to please Almighty God*: Therefore that act was not, nor could be, pleasing in the sight of God, much lesse could it be meritorious, seeing it was ioyned in the same entitie and beeing with the cleare vision of the diuine essence, with which no act of Faith can possibly be.

Secondly, for that it would follow, that

Magister
lib. 2. Sent.
dist. 9.
Dis. Tho-
mas ibidem
art. 3. q. 2.
Mars. in 2.
quest. 4.
art. 2. con-
clus. 4. ex
sententia
Egid. Rom.
in 2. Sent.
dist. 9. quia
uis ipse
Marsilius
dicit se mi-
hi hac de
re velle af-
firmare af-
ferre.
Heb. xi.

that neyther the good nor bad Angels had euer any supernaturall Faith, and consequently, that the priuation of the knowledge of their supernaturall blessednesse in the damned, were no part of their *pæna damni*, or priuatiue punishment: which is no small inconvenience, seeing all the Fathers doe suppose this priuation and knowledge thereof to be the greatest punishment the damned sustaine. Thirdly, because the fore-said act of charitie, by which the blessed Angell is said to be blessed, is altogether necessary, and not proceeding from the will as free, therefore cannot be meritorious.

Capreolus
2. sent. d. 4.
quæst. 7. 1. ar.
2. ad argu-
mentum pri-
mum contra
quintâ con-
clusionem.

The three
Angelicall
instincts,
commonly
assigned by
the diuines
to both the
good and
bad An-
gels.

The third and most probable opinion, is, of *Capreolus*, and many more moderne Writers, who assigne three instants, both to the good and bad Angels. The first, in which all were created in grace, and had an act of naturall loue vnto their Creator; but because nothing naturall hath proportion to that which is supernaturall, and consequently, neyther vnto their supernaturall beatitude: hereupon it followeth,

followeth, that by this they obtrayned not their last end, and fruition of almighty God. In the second instant (saith *Capreolus*) the good Angels had a supernaturall act of charitie, in regard of which, they were from all eternitie elected to eternall glory: (though their election *ex parte Dei*, as proceeding from God, was altogether free, *quia ipse voluit*, onely because it pleased his Maieslie) on the other side, euen in this very same instant, the bad gels had their act of disobedience and pride, in which they deserued their euerlasting damnation. In the third instant, the good Angels obtained their crowne of glory, as also the bad the vnquenchable fire of hell, and eternall priuation of the blessed sight of God.

CHAP. XXXVI.

*Whether the Angels, according to
their greater or lesse naturall
perfection, obtained more or
lesse grace and glory?*

How this
question is
to be vn-
derstood.

Pelagius
held that
the gifts of
grace were
given for
naturall
acts.

THIS question may haue two sen-
ses; the one true, the other false;
the one hereticall, the other conform-
able to true Diuinitie: the first sense
is, that according to the naturall ex-
cellencie of the Angelicall substances,
there should be given as due vnto them
and proportionate, a greater measure
of grace and supernaturall felicitie,
which doth seeme no lesse then Pela-
gianisme: for that *Pelagius* held, that
the gifts of supernaturall grace vvere
giuen for naturall acts, as due vnto
them. The second true sense is, that
the Angels who are of more naturall
perfection, receiued *gratis* of almightie
God greater helps of supernaturall
grace, and concurred with them more
perfectly,

perfectly, then did the inferiour Angels, and so consequently according to the proportion of this their supernaturall conuersion vnto their sanctifier, they receiued a more glorious crowne of glory, and this is the common opinion of the expositors of *Aquinas*, in the first part, in the fore-said question, of *Sumel*, *Bannez*, *Vasquez*, *Valentia*, *Molina*, and of all the Thomists.

The reason which commonly the Diuines giue of this, is, because it is conuenient alwayes that there should be alwayes kept a kind of proportion *inter perfectionem & perfectibile*, betweene the perfection it selfe, and the thing which is to be perfected. Moreouer, the good Angels, the perfecter they were in nature, the more perfectly also did they conuert themselues vnto God, by the help and assistance of his supernaturall grace: for that they were not led away, or in any wise hindered as men are wont to be, by any predominant passion or blinde ignorance; and so did consequently vse the helpe giuen them of the diuine Maiestie, according

Aquin *supra*
citatus,
Sumel *Ban-*
nez *Vasq.*
Valentia,
Molina,

according to their vttermoſt power, which reason of *Aquinas* though it doth not demonstrate the matter, for it ſeemeth not improbable that as the bad angels could reiect the concurrence of the ſupernaturall graces offered them, ſo alſo the good were not conſtrained to uſe them *ſecundum ultimum poſſe*, as much as they could poſſibly, though it ſeemeth more probable, that ſeeing they had no extrinſecall impediment, they did ſo.

Furthermore, though it be the common opinion of the ancient Fathers, and Schoole Diuines; and amongſt others, of Saint *Auſtine*, *Gregory* the great, and *Lombard*, that the bleſſed ſoules doe ſucceede in the felicitie of the Angels which did preuaricate, or rather in that bliſſe which was allotted them, if they had perſiſted, as it may be probably gathered out of the Apoſtle, *Ephes. cap. 1.* where hee ſaith, that God reſtored all things both in heauen & earth, in Chriſt our Saviour: yet this is not to be vnderſtood ſo precisely, as though men were to receiue the ſame

Auguſt. in
Euchirido,
cap. 29. &
lib. 22. de
Ciuit. Deiſ
cap. 10.
Greg. Mag.
hom. 24. in
Euangelia,
& Theologi
cum Magiſ.
ſer. 2. d. 9.

same degrees onely of glory, which the Angels lost, or should haue had, according to the proportion of their naturall perfection: for certaine it is, that some, as the blessed humilitie of our Sauiour, yea, the soule of his happy Mother, hath more beatitude then euer any of the Angels should haue had, though they had persevered in state of grace, and obtained the end for which they were created: so after the same manner wee are not to inferre of this common sentence of the holy Fathers, and Doctors of the Church, that there are no more soules in number to be saued, then there were Angels which prevaricated and were excluded from the ioyes of heaven, for that the common opinion of Diuines is to the contrary, to wit, that more soules shall be saued, then Angels fell from heaven: as amongst other, *Thomas*, and the Master of the Sentences hold, yea, *Saint Augustine* himselfe in *Enchiridia* cap. 29. where touching the fall of the Angels, hee saith; *Cum sit deus nulli eorum suorum numero*

Whether men be to receive the same degrees of glory in heaven, which the angels lost.

That more soules are to be saued, then the number of the bad Angels

Aquinas 1. par. quæst. 22. ar. 8. *Magister sent.* in 2. dist. 9.

rositate fraudabitur, sed uberiori etiam copia fortasse regnabit: The Citie of God shall not (by the fall of the prevaricating Angels) be defrauded of the multitude or numerositie of her Citizens, but peradventure shall enioy and raigne with a greater copie, and number.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Whether the blessed Angels can cease to loue Almighty God, or rather doe with a sweet kinde of necessitie loue him, though without coaction?

Scot. 1. Sen. dist. 1. q. 4. holdeth that the Angels & blessed soules can cease from the louing of God.

Scotus in the first Booke of the Sentences, first Distinction, and fourth Question, was of opinion, that all the blessed in heauen, doe enioy almighty God so contingently and freely, that they can cease from that act of fruition at their pleasure, as also from the exercising of their loue towards their Creator and Glorifier. First, for that when the principall cause of the act doth

doth not cause necessitie, the act is not necessary; but in this case of the beatificall loue the supernaturall habit of charitie which is infused into our will, being the principall cause of the operation of loue, doth not cause any necessitie, therefore this beatificall loue and fruition of almightie God is not necessarie: for if this habit of charitie did necessitate in heauen, it would also cause necessitie in this mortall life, because it is the same here, which they haue continued there: wherefore seeing this is contrary to all good diuinitie, yea, to reason, Philosophy, and daily experience; the same also is to be affirmed of it in heauen, in those blessed soules who continue with the same principle of habituall Charitie which they had on earth.

Wherefore if this be so in the blessed soules, the same also must needs be auerred of the blessed Angels, who also once being *viatores*, or in the way onely to their eternall blisse, had the same habituall charitie, which now they haue after their perfect fruition

of God. Wherefore if then there was no necessitie, being the same cause, the same affect now also is to be affirmed.

This also was the opinion of the Nominales, *Gabriel*, *Occam*, and *Holcot*; whose reason is, for that ioynly with the vision of Gods essence there may be some errours in blessed Angels or soules vnderstanding, for that otherwise euery one endued with this fruition of God should see all things, and consequently comprehend Almighty God: yea, see as much as God himselfe; all which both in faith is contradiction; for that it is incomprehensible, as also the second, contrary to the iudgement of all Diuines. It followeth therefore, that supposing an Angell may haue some errour, that hee may haue this in particular, saith *Holcot*, *Nisi cessauero ab hoc affectu delectationis et dilectionis pro aliquo tempore, manebo in perpetua miseria*: If I do not cease for some space from this affect of delectation and loue of God, I shall remaine in perpetual misery. But then without all doubt

in

*Gabr. prima
dist. 1. q. 7. ult.
art. 2. conclus.
3.
Supplemen-
tum Gabr.
in 4. d. 49.
q. 2. ar. 3.
dub. 5. dist.
3. & 4.
Occam in 4.
q. 7. ult. ar. 3.
dist. 4. & 5.
Hole. in istis
determinationibus,
q. 2. ar. 2.*

in this case he must needs eyther cease from those acts, or consent otherwise to his owne eternall miserie, which second in no wise can be said, that any creature should willingly consent to his owne so vnrecoverable miserie.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

In which is declared the more common opinion of Diuines in the fore-sayd point.

THe more probable and ordinary opinion of the Schooles in the fore-said matter, is, that euen those who haue least intension in their beatificall vision of the Diuine essence, are so necessarily (with a most Diuine and sweet kind of necessitie) drawne vnto the object, that they cannot cease from louing the Diuine nature, attributes and persons, which once they haue enioyed and perfectly viewed.

*Aquin. 2.
contr. gent.
c. 62. & ibi.
Ferra. Capre.
in 1 d. 1. q.
2. ar. 1 con-
clus. 4. & 5.
Durau. in 4.
d. 48. q. 2 et
d. 49. q. 8.
num. 16.
Maior. eadē
d. 49. q. 8.
Palud. q. 7.
ar. 2. n. 12.
Caiet. 1. p. q.
82. ar. 1. &
2. sub finem.
cum quibus
ex parte con-
ueniunt.
Henri. quod
libet. 12.
q. 5. in cor-
pore & ad
primum, &
Egid. quod
libet. 5. q. 6.*

This is the sentence of *Aquinas*, *Ferrara*, *Capreolus*, *Durandus*, *Maior*, *Paludanus*, *Caietan*, *Henricus*, *Egidius*, *Molina*, *Valentia*, *Suarez*, and of almost all moderne Writers of this age, the Scotists onely excepted.

The reason of *Egidius* and *Henricus* is, for that when two things haue naturall connexion the one with the other, it is impossible they should be separate, whether it be because the one doeth necessarily depend on the other, (as the Logicians are wont to say of two relatives) or that because they are so vnited in some third thing by reason of which vnion, the one cannot be without the other. So after this manner the vision of God, say they, cannot be without the Diuine loue of his essence, eyther in the blessed soules or Angels, because they are vnited in one third, *to wit*, in one object with an indissoluble vnion.

But because this reason doeth not altogether please many Diuines, amongst which is the most acute Schoole Diuine *Gabriel Vasquez*, I adde

adde another more conuincent, taken out of *Aquinas*, in his third Booke against the Gentiles, *esp. 62.*

For that either the will can cease from the exercise of the delight received from the sight of the Diuine essence and from the loue thereof when the blessed Angell or soule doth cease from their beatitude or blessed vision, or that vision remaining; the first is impossible, for that it is not in the power of the will that the beatificall vision should cease, and because eternitie is, as may be gathered out of Scripture, ioyned of necessitie with perfect felicitie: the second also is manifest, for that none can desire to be deprived of the good he possesseth, but by reason of some euill which hee apprehendeth in the fruition thereof; or that hee apprehendeth some impediment of a greater good: for as the will desireth nothing, as the Philosopher saith, but *sub ratione boni*, as good, and for the goodnesse it apprehendeth in the object; so it can flye or eschew nothing but *sub ratione mali*, but appre-

The will
can desire
nothing
but that
which hath
some show
at least-
way of
good.

The sight
of God
doth necessi-
tate to
loue, be-
cause there
is not the
least appa-
rance or
show of
euill, nei-
ther can
there be.

hended in some sort euill: wherefore seeing that in the fruition of that eternall and most excellent obiect of the essence of Almighty God by the beatificall vision, there cannot appeare vnto the blessed Angell any reason, shew, or shadow of euill, or impediment of a greater good, because that which it so enioyeth is in it selfe the greatest, and in most perfect manner obtained, therefore it must of necessity follow that hee who is so vnited vnto the Diuinitie of God by vision, fruition, and loue, that hee cannot by his owne will be separate from the exercise of those so perfect actions, in which consist all his good happinesse and last felicitie. And by these may easily be gathered the answer to the obiections of *Scorus*, *Gabriel*, *Helcot*, and *Occam*, who, as we see, held the contrary opinion without sufficient ground.

CHAP. XXXIX.

*Whether the blessed Angels can
sinne or no?*

ONE of the errours of *Origenes*,
(yea, as it seemeth also of *Saint
Hierome* and *Faber Stapulensis*) was,
that the blessed Angels and Saints were
not free from the possibilitie of sinning
by their beatitude; yea, this last Do-
ctor held further, that they might loose
their blisse, and *Origenes* particularly
said of the blessed Angels, that euen
after their supernaturall felicitie now
already obtained, they did sometimes
sinne in the custodie of men commit-
ted to their charge: and though *Tho-
mas*, 1. part. *quæst.* 113. ar. 7. ad. 4.
doeth interpret in a good sense the
words of *Origenes*, that the good An-
gels are brought to the iudgement of
God with men, not as guiltie of any
sinne, but as *Testes*, witnesses, against
sin and sinners; yet such be the words
of

Origen in
Hom. 13. &
35. in *Lucā*,
Et *Hom.* 20.
& 24. *supra*
Num. quem
videtur se-
quitur. *Hier.*
in 6. c. *Mic.*
in illud
surge, &
contende
in iudicio.
Faber Stap.
in lib. de
tribus Mag-
dalenis.

How Saint
Hierome
may be ex-
plained in
that hee
seemeth to
hold with
Origen.

August. seu
potius Ful-
gentius de
fide ad Pe-
trum, c. 23.
& in enchir.
c. 57.
Nazianzen.
44. quæst. in
Pentecost.
Nixæa, ibid.
in illa verba
Posteaquã-
autem, qui
plane loqui-
tur de An-
gelis beatis.
Isid. lib. 1.
de summo
bono, c. 12.

Isiden. 2. & 3. Bede, tom. 8. lib. quæstionum, quæst. 9. Greg. mag. lib. 34.
moralium, cap. 7. alias 4. Damas. lib. 2. de fide, cap. 3.

of *Origenes* that they scarce can suffer any good interpretation. True it is, that Saint *Hierome* rather seemeth to speake in the opinion of others then in his owne, as hee is wont often in his Commentaries on the Epistles to the *Ephesians* and *Galathians*, as he himselfe also confesseth of himselfe in his Apologie against *Ruffinus*. Wherefore against this opinion is the common current of all Doctors and Fathers; amongst others, Saint *Austine*, *Nazianzene*, *Bede*, *Gregory the great*, & *Damasene*, who in his second Booke de fide, cap. 3. where, according to the translation of *Bilius*, he thus speaketh, *At sunt illi ita natura comparati, ut ad malum agrè moveri, non tamen omnino non possint: nunc vero ea iam condicione, ne vix quidem moveri atque inflecti queant.* The Angels be of such a nature, that they can hardly be drawn unto that which is euill, though that yet is not impossible altogether in regard of their nature: but now they haue obtained such

a state and condition that in no wise they can be moued or drawne euen by violence vnto euill : or as the Greeke soundeth, they are wholly immoueable to it.

But peradventure some will object that of *Iob*, *cap. 4.* where, speaking of the blessed Angels, hee seemeth to deliuer the contrary in these words: *Behold, he found no stedfastnesse in his seruants, and laid folly vpon his Angels.* Loe, euen the blessed Angels that serue him in Heauen are not stable, firme, or secure; as who would say, that seeing that other Angels of the same nature and condition haue fallen, those also which now enioy the seruice and sight of his Diuine Maiesty are not secure.

To this I answer, that it is meant of the Angels according to their naturall force, not as they be confirmed by the grace of God, and after their supernaturall beatitude; which make them wholly secure of their estate, as afterward shall be more largely demonstrated.

Iob 4 18.

CHAP. XL.

*Whereupon doeth it proceede that
the blessed Angels cannot com-
mit any offence against the Di-
vine Maieslie.*

THE difficultie consisteth in this,
whether (supposing that, as hath
beene proued, the blessed cannot sinne
now as they are in Heauen) whether
I say, this proceedeth of something
intrinsecall vnto them in their vnder-
standing, or will, or onely from the
outward protection and prouidence of
Almightie God, by which he so pro-
tecteth & gouerneth those blessed spi-
rits, that they can in no wise commit
any thing displeasing to his Diuine
will.

In this point *Scotus*, *Occam*, *Gabriel*,
and the supplement of the same *Ga-
briel* affirme, that the blessed are not
intrinsecally impeccable by reason of
any inherent quality, but onely by the
extrin-

Scot. 4. d. 49

q. 6.

Gab. 2. d. 7.

q. 1. ar. 1.

Occam. in 2.

q. 19.

Greg. in 2.

d. 7. q. 2. sup-

plement.

Gab. in 4. d.

49. q. 2. ar. 3

dub. 6.

extrinsecall protection of Almighty God : which outward impediment *Scotus* compareth to the impediment wherewith the facultie of our sight might be outwardly hindered from the exercise of her acts of seeing ; so that if a man or Angell in Heaven were left to his owne will, no doubt, say these Authors, but that they might transgresse.

Neuerthelesse, the most sound and probable doctrine in this point, is, that the Angels and all those that haue obtained the perfect and cleare sight of the Diuine essence, are by reason of the same beatitude so preuented and determined to all good, and whatsoeuer is pleasing in the sight of their Lord and Maker, that in no wise they can sinne : so that their impeccabilitie proceedeth not onely from the protection of God, but sufficiently also from the internal qualities of the beatificall vision and lone, as *Thomas Aquinas*, *Conradus*, *Caietan*, *Sumol*, *Aegidius*, *Lorea*, *Vasquez*, *Valentia*, *Suares*, *Salas*, and all Moderne

Beatitude
is sufficient
cause why
the blessed
haue no li-
berie to
sinne.

D. Thomas.
Conradus.
Caietan.
Vasquez.
Valentia.

Lorca &
ali in 1.2.
q.4. ar.4.
Ferrara in
Thoma, 4.
contra gen-
tes, cap. 19.
Richar. in 1.
dist. 7. ar. 1.
quæst. 1.
Durandus
quæst. 1.
dist. 23. q. 1.
Major in 4
dist. 49. q. 8
Satus ibid.
q. 3. ar. 4.
Paludanus
q. 7. ar. 2.

derne Writers doe teach, commen-
 ting vpon *Thomas 1. 2. quæst. 4. ar. 4.*
 As also the Commentors of the Sen-
 tences, *Ferrara, Richardus, Durandus,*
Major, Scotus, Paludanus, and *Copreo-*
lus. The first reason of this impeccabi-
 litie, or impossibilitie of sinne in the
 blessed Angels, is taken from the na-
 ture of their will, so preuented with the
 cleare sight of God, and so prepared,
 that necessarily, with a sweet kinde of
 force, it is carryed so away and ab-
 sorpt, as it were, that it can admit no-
 thing contrary to that which hath who-
 ly possessed it: wherefore seeing that
 the least sinne is contrary to the puritie
 of this obiect, consequently it is also
 to the power and facultie which is al-
 together possessed with it.

But seeing that this loue, and the
 blessed vision, may at least-way, by
 the omnipotent power of God, be se-
 perate, it remaineth to proue, that
 euen in that case so metaphysicall, yea,
 consequently that as things be now,
 this beatitude is sufficient to cause the
 said impeccabilitie in the Angels or
 other

other whatsoeuer blessed creature. The reason of this is, that which *Aquinas* giueth in his fourth Booke *contra gentes*, cap. 92. in 5. loco, and *Durand* aboue cited, which may be formed in this wise.

Such is the nature of our will that it cannot sinne nor defect from that which is good, vnlesse there be precedent some defect in the vnderstanding, according to that of the *Prouerbs*; *Do they not erre which denise euill?* As also that of *Aristotle*, when he saith, *Omnem prauum cum peccat, ignorare ea qua oportet agere, seu omnis peccans est ignorans*: whosoever sinneth or transgresseth hee doth it by ignorance, or some defect of the intellectuall power, to wit, want of consideration, not because a man (who often with full deliberation wilfully, *sciens & prudens*, doth transgresse the limits of Gods Commandement) not because (I say) such a one attendeth not vnto those things which should with-draw him from sinne, but because hee doth but lightly consider them, and doth consider

*Durandus
quo sup. &
Aquinas 4.
contra gen-
tes cap. 92.*

Prou. 14.

Our will cannot decline from good vnles there be some kind of defect in our vnderstanding.

sider, with more efficacie, those things which attract him vnto sinne, wherefore seeing it is impossible for the will eyther of man or Angell, to be more forcibly drawne by that object which is proposed with lesse efficacie: hereupon it is, that seeing the essentiall beatitude of the Angels, *scilicet* that act of their vnderstanding, wherewith they see the diuine essence, his attributes, and personalities, doth with such force and efficacie represent vnto their intellectiue facultie and will, the said object, as no other object can be so forcibly represented: hereupon (I say) it is that it must needs be a sufficient, yea, superabundant impediment of his owne nature, against all transgression of the will of God in the least thing imaginable.

Moreover, this may be proued by the authoritie of Saint Gregory the diuine, in his forty-foure Oration, where speaking of the blessed Angels, hee saith; *neque enim aliunde perfectionem & splendorem habent, idq; praeterea ut ad malum agerent, vel nulla prorsus modo moueri*

Greg. Naz.
orat. 44.
his reason
why the
blessed
cannot be
moued to
euill.

moueri queant, quam a spiritu sancto: whereby he giueth to understand, that by reason of the splendor and inward illustration of the minde, the Angels which before might haue transgressed, now it is impossible for them, as *Alexander* vpon the same Oration, and *Elias Cretensis* vpon the third Oration, doe more plainly testifie, and gather out of the same Father.

Wherefore I conclude with *Isidorus*, in his first Booke *de summo bono*, cap. 12. *Sententia 3. Quod Angeli licet sine natura sua mutabiles, non sunt tamen ex contemplatio mutari diuina:* That the Angels, though by their nature they be mutable, that is, from good to bad; yet the diuine contemplation, or beatitude which they haue obtained, doth not permit them. Or, as *Anselme* writeth, *nec iam videant, quod plus velle possint, & propter hoc peccare nequeant.* So that the reason why they cannot sinne, according to this Doctor, is, because that being preuented with the efficacie of the diuine vision, they cannot desire any thing more, much lesse that

Q

which

Ibid. lib. 1. de summo bono cap. 12. his authoritie for the same Angelicall impeccabilitye.

*Aug. enchir.
cap. 29. &
lib. de fide
ad Petrum.
cap. 23. siue
in fine sit, si-
ne Fulgentij
ut aliqui
putant.*

which is contrary to the object of so blessed a sight, as is that of the diuine essence and attributes : and hereupon it seemeth, that Saint *Aufine* doth perswade this as a matter of Faith, in *Enchiridio*, cap. 29. & in *libro de Fide ad Petrum*, cap. 23. where hee, or *Fulgentius*, pronouncing his sentence, saith; *Firmissime tene, & nulla tenus dabites, omnem creaturam naturaliter mutabilem à Deo incommutabili factam; nec tamen posse quemlibet sanctorum Angelorum in deterius mutari, quia sic acceperunt aeternam beatitudinem qua Deo stabiliter perfruuntur, ut ea carere non possint.* So that the reason which this Father giueth why the Angels cannot fall, is their blessednesse, of which they are assured for all eternitie, and consequently from all sinne for euer.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLI.

Whether the good Angels can in progresse of time, haue more beatitude and glory, then they had in the first instant of their glorification.

TO this I answered briefly, that the negative part is most secure, if wee speake of the essentiall beatitude: for though this is not so plainly reuealed in the essentiall beatitude of Angels, as it is of men, yet seeing that we are to speake with like proportion of both in this matter; for that both humane and Angelicall nature were both destinated after the same manner vnto their last end, therefore seeing that the soules of men do not encrease in their essentiall beatitude, as easily may be gathered out of the 11. of Eccles. *Whether the tree doth fall to the South, or towards the North, there it shall remaine,*

maine : as also the like, *Eccles. 14. Ioan. 9. & ad Gal. 6.* While wee haue time let vs doe good to all, &c. After the same manner we are to say of the Angels.

Neuerthelesse, if wee consider the Angels in regard of their accidentall beatitude; as other ioyes they may haue; beside that of the vision of God, then no doubt but in that they may increase. According to that of the Euangelist *Luke, cap. 15.* There will be more ioy in the kingdome of heauen upon the repentance of one sinner, &c.

Secondly, for that according to the doctrine of *Dionisius Arcopagita, Austine, Ambrose, Hierome, and Aquinas; Per novas reuelationes quadam de nouo cognoscunt;* by new reuelations they are endued with new knowledge: it followeth also consequently, that they haue also new ioyes proceeding of those new reuelations.

One thing yet is to be noted against *Bonauenture*, to wit, that although the Angels be endued with new accidentall ioyes, yet neuerthelesse that this is not by their merite; as *Bonauenture* and

Lucæ 15.

*Dion. Arco.
cap. 7. de celesti Hier.*

*Aug. lib. 2.
super Gen.
ad literam,
cap. 19.*

*Ambros. lib.
de his qui
missi sunt,
cap. 7.*

*Hier. in cap.
3. ad Ephes.
Aquinas q.*

*117. ar. 2.
ad 1.*

*Bonauent. 2.
dist. 11. ar. 2.
quæst. 3.*

and *Gabriel* would seeme to auerre,
but rather that this is as a concomi-
tant propriety flowing from the es-
sentiall beatitude of the vision of the
diuine essence, as *Aquinas* affirmeth.

propter hanc beatitudinem et beatitudinem

et beatitudinem et beatitudinem et beatitudinem

et beatitudinem et beatitudinem et beatitudinem

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CHAP. XLII

Whether there can be created any
Angell, which of his owne na-
ture cannot sinne?

SVpposing that all intellectuall crea-
tures, as yet created, are of their
owne nature subiect vnto sinne, accor-
ding to the current of the^{*} Diuines, in
the second Booke of the Sentences,
Dist. 3. as also of the Fathers, *Anselme*,
Fulgentius, *Ambrose*, *Hierame*, *Grego-
ry the great*, *Damasene*, and *Anselme*,
it remaineth now to know, whether at
least there may be created any intel-
lectuall creature or Angell not subiect
to this defection, or transgression of
the will of God.

Q 3

As

Gabriel in eadem d. 11. quaest. 1. dubio 2. & ibid. Aquin. & l. p. q. 62.

* *Theol. in 2. dist. 3. & sequent. Aug. lib. 3. cont. Max. cap. 12. Fulgent. de fide ad Petrum. cap. 3. Ambr. lib. 3 de fide, ad Gratianum. cap. 2. & ubi ita explicat illud de Deo. 1. ad Tim. 6. qui solus habet immortalitatem, id est, impeccabilitatem. Hier. in e. 6. ad Gal. Damasc. lib. 2. cap. 3. & 17.*

As concerning which there be three principall opinions : the first of *Ioh. Maior* in 2. *Dist.* 23. *quaest.* 2. *conclus.* 5. and of *Gabriel*, in the same place, *quaestione unica*, ar. 2. about the end, who doe defend as probable, that there may be an intellectuall Creature, of his owne nature impeccable, or which cannot sinne : which though it haue no liberty *circa bonum & malum*, about good and euill, yet it should haue about diuers good obiects; and for this opinion, *Gabriel* in 2. *Sent.* bringeth the arguments of some diuines, though hee doth not name them.

Gabriel. 2.
Sent. dist. 22
q. 1. ar. 2.
Durandus
3. *Sent. dist.*
23. q. 1.
Capreolus 2.
Sent. d. 23.
ar. 3. ad 1.
ex sententia
Thome
quaest. 16.
de malo.
ar. 3.

The second sentence in this point is of *Durand*, and *Capreolus*, who distinguish in this manner; first, that God may create a creature *in puris naturalibus*, that is, without any supernaturall gift, neyther ordaining it to any supernaturall end, neyther giuing it any supernaturall precept, but onely naturall, which are accomodate to his naturall end onely, and such a creature say these Doctores, may be created impeccable, or without any power

power to sinne: for that God can create a creature so perfect in his naturall being and essence, endued with such science, and all such forces necessary for to fulfill all naturall precepts, as also adorned with such naturall prudence, that in no wise hee may or can practically erre about any thing which he doth attempt, yea, not for want of consideration.

But if this Creature (say these Doctors) were created for any supernaturall end, and consequently to haue had any supernaturall precepts proportionate vnto the said end, it were vnpossible but that such a creature should of his owne nature be inclined to sin, because as it is supposed, these precepts being supernaturall, they must needes be aboue the forces of nature, and therefore cannot by them be fulfilled.

But this reason seemeth not sufficient, for that supposing that the said creature hath proposed vnto it a supernaturall end, it is supposed that such an end cannot be obtained but

Every end
as well na-
turall as su-
pernaturall
must haue
sufficient
meanes
whereby it
may be at-
tained vn-
to.

Who doth
effectually
intend any
end, must
of necessity
after the
like man-
ner intend
or procure
the meanes
sufficient
for the ob-
taining of
that end.

by supernaturall meanes, because that
the meanes and helpes by which any
end, as well supernaturall as naturall
is to be obtained, must needes be pro-
portionate vnto it : if therefore it be
the pleasure and bountie of almightie
God, to propose to the fore-said An-
gell or any other Creature, a superna-
turall end, hee must of necessitie also
giue the meanes, and supernaturall
helpes, by which the end is to be ob-
tained: for that as the Philosophers
say, and largely proue, *Qui vult cau-
sam, vult consequentia causam* : who wil-
leth or desireth the cause, willethe also
and desireth, after the same manner,
the effects, and all other things, which
doe necessarily follow such a cause : so
after the same manner, who doth ef-
fectually intend any end, must neces-
sarily supposing that intention, intend,
yea, giue those things (if otherwise the
end cannot be accomplished) which
are necessarily required as meanes pre-
cedent vnto that end. Wherefore, if
as the fore said Doctors doe grant,
the meanes may be so perfect and pro-
portionate

portionate in regard of the naturall end, that the creature may be impeccable of his owne nature, why may it not be also in regard of the supernaturall end, to which God can giue as proportionate and perfect meanes in regard of the supernaturalitie, as to the naturall end in regard of the naturall.

So that in this point I conclude, ingeniously confessing with *Molina*, in his first Part vpon *Thomas*, that I could neuer see any contradiction in this matter, which to my iudgement doth conuince, that almighty God cannot create an Angell, or some other most perfect Creature, to vvhom those meanes and helpes of grace, which to vs be supernaturall, might not be naturall, or proportionate to his substance and intellectuall faculties, and consequently also, the end which to vs is supernaturall, might not be to such a Creature naturall: which once granted, it will follow most evidently, that such a Creature or Angell be of his owne nature, free from the danger, yea,

Molina, in 1 part. q. 12 his opinion that it is not impossible for God to create some creature or angell impeccable.

yea, power of all sinne : for that seeing as wee haue largely already proued, such is the force and vertue of the most glorious vision of the diuine essence, that euen in vs, to whom it is about nature, it doth cause an euerm-lasting impeccabilitie; so that wee are not onely freed from the bondage of sinne, but also from the power of sinning, while wee are in that thrice happy state : much more then, yea, *a fortiori*, it must needes haue the like effect in those to whom such blisse and glory should be connaturall. Now therefore it remaineth onely, to show with what probabilitie the antecedent may be verified; *scilicet*, that it is not impossible to the omnipotence of almighty GOD, to create such a Creature, of such extraordinary perfection, as it may require as connaturall the blessed vision of Almighty GOD. Which thus may probably (though not with euidence) be perswaded.

First, for that such is the omnipotence of God, that as all Diuines hold,
it

it can effectuate whatsoever implyeth not contradiction, but it implyeth not contradiction that God should create an Angell so perfect in substance, as is a mans vnderstanding; together, with the light of glory, which be but accidents: wherefore, if it be connaturall (as many Diuines hold) to the Angelicall or humane vnderstanding, endued with the habite of the light of glory, to see the Diuine essence, and consequently to be freed from the power, or rather impotency of sinne, the same also must needes happen to the fore-said Angell, created with such perfection.

Secondly, for that seeing such is the omnipotence of God (as none can deny) but that hee can create a creature or Angell more perfect then any that can be assigned *in infinitum*, consequently such may be the progresse of the infinite number of creatures, one more perfect then another, that at length it may come to the perfection of impeccabilitie, or want of power to sinne.

Thirdly,

God (according to the opinion of all Diuines) can produce whatsoever doth not imply contradiction, or bring with it some imperfection redounding to almighty God.

God can create an Angel perfecter then any creature or Angell already created, or which can be assigned by the vnderstanding onely.

Thirdly, because this supernaturall or angelicall substance doth not imply contradiction, neyther by reason of the supernaturalitie, nor by reason that it is substance; first, not by reason of the first, because that supernaturality is found in inferiour creatures, as grace, faith, hope, and charitie, the light of glory, & our essentiall beatitude, which many Diuines do hold to be more imperfect then those which are complete substances, much lesse therefore doth this imply contradiction, for the perfection it bringeth with it; imply, I say, that it should be in the angelicall substance, such as is pretended might be created. Neither doth this imply contradiction, by reason of the formality of substance, as is most euident, therefore if there be any contradiction, it must be by reason of the ioyning of both supernaturalitie & substance together: but this is also manifestly false, as we know by faith of the Hypostaticall Vnion, which is both supernaturall and substantiall: yea, to this is due a most perfect degree of supernaturall
grace

grace, as also of light of glory, and blessed vision of the diuine essence, and of all other supernaturall qualities. Wherefore, I lastly answere in this so difficult a matter in the resolution and vnderstanding, with *Scotus*, *Me magis propter authoritates, quam propter rationes putare non posse fieri creaturam naturæ suæ impeccabilem*: that rather I am moued by the authorities of the Fathers and Doctors, to thinke that such a creature or impeccable Angell is impossible, then by any vrgent reason: and so *Ambrose* and *Austine* doe explicate that place of *Timothy*, *Qui salus habet immortalitatem*: Who onely hath immortalitie; id est impeccabilitatem, that is, impeccabilitie yea, the same is the ordinary opinion of all the Schoole Diuines and Doctors of the Church; of whom alwayes *salue fide*, it seemeth most iust to be most respectiue; *Non quis* (as Saint *Austine* sayth) *fieri non potuit, ut in obscurissima questione, verius pluribus unus, paucius sentirent: sed quia non facile pro vno vel pro paucis, aduersus innumerabiles eiusdem unitatis viros*

*Scot. in 2. d.
23. q. vnica*

1 Tim. 6.

*Aquin. 1. p.
q. 63. ar. 1.
ubi vide sum-
malem, &
Molin. in q.
12. supra.*

virtus & magno ingenio & uberi doctrina preditos, ferenda est sententia.

CHAP. XLIII.

Of the Angelicall protection: and first, whether Angels doe helpe, and keepe men from euill or no?

HOWsoever some doe misconster, as well in this as in many other matters of moment, the meaning of the Church of England, and of all other Protestants; it is a thing most certainly holden by them, that these blessed spirits are and haue beene oftentimes sent by Almighty God to helpe, protect, and deliuer men from euill: yea, this seemeth to be their peculiar office, by which they are denominated Angels; according to that of the Hebrewes, *Are they not all ministering spirits?* sent as messengers betweene God and man, and so to concurre to their protection, government,

Heb. 1.14.

ment, and deliuerie, as well from the common enemy the diuell, as from other particular mischiefes, and misfortunes, especially, spirituall; so wee read that when *Sodome* was to be destroyed by the commaundement of God, and ministerie of the reuenging Angels, *Lot* being a iust man, and consequently vnder their protection, was deliuered by them, and carryed out of that damned place, leaſt, together with the reſt of that ſinnefull nation, the vengeance of God ſhould haue fallen vpon him, and his; according to that of the ſacred Text, *Angeli eduxerunt Lot & poſuerunt extra ciuitatem, dicentes, ſalua animam tuam. The Angels tooke Lot, and led him out of the citie, ſaying, ſaue thy ſoule.* So likewise *Gen. 48. Jacob ſayth, Angelus qui eruit me de cunctis malis, benedicat pueris iſtis. The Angell who hath deliuered mee from all euils, bleſſe theſe children.* Where alſo ſome doe gather prayer vnto the Angels, though others condemne it as an hereſie of the ancient heritiques, the angelicals mentioned by

Gen. 19.

Gen. 48.
16.

by Saint *Austine* and *Epiphanius*; but these two points I now leaue as largely to be discussed in their peculiar place: for that heere I meane more to declare matters disputable and indifferently holden of all or most Schoolemen and Diuines; then controuersies, reseruing them for a better opportunitie of such iust and due examination as so graue questions doe require.

Now therefore, for the better confirmation of the point of the protection and angelicall ayde giuen vnto man; I adde that of *Daniel*, the 10. Chapter, where an Angell appearing vnto *Daniel* like a man; clothed with linnen, whose loynes were girded with fine gold of *Vphaz*, his body like the *Chrysolite*, and his face (to looke vpon) like the lightning, and his eyes as a lampe of fire, and his armes and his feete were like in colour so polished brasse; and the voyce of his words like the voyce of a multitude. And hee sayd vnto me, O *Daniel*, a man greatly beloued, vnderstand the words that I speake vnto thee; and stand in thy place; for vnto thee am I
now

Dan. 10.
vers. 5, 6.

Verf. 11.

and Proprieties.

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now sent : and when hee had sayd this word unto mee, I stood trembling : then sayd hee unto me, Feare not Daniel ; for from the first day thou didst set thine heart to vnderstand , and to humble thy selfe before thy G O D ; thy words were heard, and I am come for thy words. But the Prince of the Kin:dome of Persia withstood me one and twenty dayes : But loe, Michael, one of the chiefe Princes, came to helpe mee, and I remained there by the Kings of Persia. Now I come to shew thee what shall come to thy people in the latter dayes : for yet the vision is for many dayes. Where we may plainly gather the ministry , protection, instruction, and peculiar ayde of Angels vnto the Iust, by the particular prouidence of almightie God.

And this not onely in the Old Testament, but rather more particularly in the New, as we read *Matthew* the 18. Chapter, *Hebr. 1.* and may be shoven out of diuers other places ; amongst which that of the deliuey of Saint *Peter* out of the hands of *Herod* is most excellent, and such as is noted with

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Verf. 12

Verf. 13.

Verf. 14.

Mat. 18. 10

Heb. 1. 14.

Act. 12. 7.

the particle *Ecce*, *Behold*; which in holy Writ is not wont to be added but to denote some extraordinary and more particular event. *Ecce Angelus Domini assistit & lumen refulsit in Tabernaculo, &c.* And behold, the Angell of the Lord came upon them, and a light shined in the house, and hee smote Peter on the side, and raised him up, saying; *Arise quickly, & his chaines fell from his hands.* And the Angell sayd vnto him, *Gird thy selfe, and binde on thy Sandales; and so he did: then he said vnto him, Cast thy garment about thee, and follow me.* So Peter came out and followed him, and knew not that it was true which was done by the Angell, but thought hee had seene a vision. Now when they were past the first & second watch, they came vnto the yron gate that leadeth vnto the Citie, which opened vnto them by it owne accord: and they went out & passed through one street, and by and by the Angell departed from him. And when Peter was come vnto himselfe, he sayd; *Now I know for a truth that the Lord hath sent his Angell, and hath deliuered me out of the hand*

hand of Herod, and from all the waiting
for of the people of the Jewes.

Sic ergo (as Clemens Alexandrinus
saith) *cognoscitur utilitas qua ad nos ve-*
nit per Angelos: etenim Divina virtus
prebet bona per Angelos, sine videantur,
sive non videantur. So therefore (saith
this learned Father) we may know, and
should gratefully acknowledge, the good
which commeth from God unto us by the
Angels: for certaine it is, that the Divine
vertue doeth give us good things by the
ministry of the Angels, whether they be
seene of us, or no.

Clem. Alex
lib 6 Strom.

But peradventure some may ob-
iect, that by this wee seeme to exte-
nuate the particular motion, action,
immediate concurse, and speciall pro-
vidence of almighty God in all good
motions and actions: yea, the generall
concurse, as of vniuersall cause, in all
whatsoever, euen to the action of sinne
it selfe, though not to the formalitie
of sinne, (as some haue falsely surmi-
sed of Caluine, and other Protestants)
which difficultie may be thus vrged:
for that as the Philosophers assume

Psal. 37.

Psal. 34.

as a most euident Axiome, and granted of all ; *Non sunt multiplicanda entia sine necessitate*: wee are not to multiply entities without necessitie; so also wee are not to multiply concourses with the second causes of other creatures, without necessitie. But it seemeth that there is no such necessitie of any concourse of the Angels, for the protection of the iust, and his particular gouernment, aide, and direction in any action whatsoeuer: witnesse God himselfe by his Prophet *Dauid*; *The pathes of man are directed by the Lord; for hee loueth his way: though he fall, hee shall not be cast off; for the Lord putteth vnder his hand*. And againe, *Many and great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord deliuereth him out of all: hee keepeth all his bones, not one of them is broken*. In which place, and infinite other the like, wee see all the aide and protection to be attributed to almightie God alone, and not to the Angels. Yea, for this so particular care and prouidence, hee is so often compared in the Scriptures vn-

to a Father, Mother, Pastor, Guide, Bridegroom, Eagle, and many other the like, for to show vs, that hee onely is to vs, all in all things, and in all our necessities. *Isaias cap. 63. Doubtlesse thou art our Father, though Abraham be ignorant of vs, and Israel know vs not:* as who would say, those that are Fathers according to the flesh, are not worthy of that name, if they be compared with thee.

Isaias the 49. Can a woman forget her Childe, and not haue compassion on the Sonne of her wombe? though they should forget, yet will I not forget thee: Behold, I haue grauen thee upon the palme of my hands; thy wals are euer in my sight. What wordes can be spoken with more tender loue? what more particular concourse, care, or prouidence can be showne? why then should wee desire or expect any other aide, help, guard, or protection of any other inferiour power, though Angelicall, or neuer so great, seeing that it must be alwayes infinitely inferiour to that which wee haue so assuredly promised

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from

Vide
Psal. 103.
Esay. 63.
& 49.
Deut. 32.
Ierem. 31.
Ezech. 34.
Esay. 40.
Iohn 10.

from him immediately, who cannot deceiue, because hee is Truth; nor faile in power, because hee is omnipotent. If therefore wee should expect any thing from any other but from him, euen from the blessed Angels themselves, wee should extenuate his loue, mercy, and prouidence, who saith vnto vs; *Venite ad me omnes; &c.* Come vnto me all you that labour and are laden and I will refresh you. To him therefore onely we are to come in all our necessities, and not to expect helpe of any other: for as Saint *Ambrose* in his Treatise of Virginitie, proueth: *Christ is all in all vnto vs: if thou desire to heale thy wounds, hee is a Physician; if thou be ouer-beated with Feauers, hee is a fountaine to coole thee; if thou beeſt burdened with vnrightheouſneſſe, he is rightheouſneſſe; if thou neede helpe, hee is ſtrength; if thou feareſt death, hee is life; if thou deſireſt heauen, hee is the way; if thou hateſt darkneſſe, hee is light; if thou ſeckeſt for meate, hee is foode: for although hee is one in himſelfe, yet hee is all things in vs, for*
the

the relieuing of our necessities, which are
innumerable. That therefore which
 Caluine spake of one as particular de-
 fence, and assigned to euery man as
 keeper and particular protector more
 then the rest, seemeth may be said of
 all Angelicall aide and protection:

*Maligni Dei gratiam extenuant, qui tan-
 tum ab uno Angelo quemq; nostrum de-
 fendunt; That those who thinke ene-
 ry man to be protected and defended of
 one onely Angell, doe malignantly exte-
 nuate and debase the diuine grace:* And
 so it seemes wee may say of those who
 giue vs many, or any besides almighty
 God, of whose ayde we cannot doubt,
 because hee hath promised it, nor of
 his power, because it is infinite.

Neuerthelesse, the foresaid doctrine
 of the Angelicall protection towards
 men, is a thing altogether vndoubted,
 as we haue already shoven, and so in
 no wise doth extenuate but rather ex-
 toll the diuine loue, prouidence, and
 grace towards mankinde; that seeing
 man is so farre inferiour a creature to
 the angelicall substance, neuerthelesse,

Caluin, ad
 cap. 39.
 Gen. vers. 1.

How gods
 loue is
 shewed to-
 wards man-
 kinde, by
 giuing vs
 the Angels
 for our
 protection.

God would that they should serue for messengers, betweene his diuine Maie-
 stie and vs so base creatures, concur-
 ring with vs in that which is to Gods
 seruice and our saluation, & defending
 vs from many occasions of sinne, and
 snares of our common enimie, who *as*
a roaring Lion runneth about, seeking
whom he may deuoure. Magna est digni-
tas animarum, ut unaquaq; habeat ab
ortu natiuitatis in custodiam sui Ange-
lum delegatum. Great (saith Saint He-
 rome) is the dignitie of our soules, that
 euery one from our natiuie hath an An-
 gell assigned for her custodie. No rea-
 son can be giuen of this, but onely the
 bounty and loue of God towards man;
 who would not onely protect vs him-
 selfe by himselfe, by his immediate
 concurse which he hath in all things,
 but also by the Princes of his heauen-
 ly Court his Angels: not that the om-
 nipotence of God had any necessitie
 of the cooperation of Angels, for our
 protection or gouernement (but could
 supply it with his peculiar and proper
 concurse) but rather because it is the
 manner

manner, and ordinarie course of his diuine Maieſty and prouidence to gouerne the inferiour, and things more ſubiect to mutation, by the ſuperiour and leſſe ſubiect to change and mutabilitie: wherefore ſeeing ſuch is the nature of man, in reſpect of the Angelicall, it ſeemeth moſt conuenient, apt, and proportionate to the ordinary diſpoſition and prouidence of God, he ſhould be ſo directed, gouerned, aided, and protected as his neceſſitie ſhall require, and God of his bountie grant; at leaſt way, in his extraordinary occaſions, ſuch like as be thoſe which we haue already recited out of the holy Scripture: yea, peraduenture more ordinarily, for that as the Author of the Soliloquies, entituled of Saint *Auſtine*, ſaith, *cap. 27. Diligunt concines ſuos per quos ſua ruina ſciſcuras, reſtaurari expectant: ideoq; magna cura & uigilantia adſunt nobis omnibus horis atq; momentiſ ſuccurrentes, ac prouidentes neceſſitatibus noſtris;* *Beccaſe* (ſaith hee) they loue their fellow Citizens, by whom they expect the reſtauration of the Angelicall

There can be giuen no reaſon of the Angelical protection, but Gods loue onely to mankind, & his like gouernement in other inferiour things gouerned by the ſuperiour.

*Chrys. serm.
de ascensu
ne Domini.*

A most excellent
compari-
son of S.
Chrysostome
for the An-
gelical pro-
tection of
mankind.

gelicall ruine and fall; and therefore with great care and vigilant affect, they are present with us, almost all houres and moments. For, Sicut (saith Saint Chrysostome) Imperatoris optimi prouisione urbes omnes, uniuersa cinitates, castella singula, manu militari aduersus hostilem muniantur aduentum, & omnia loca diligenter armantur, ne barbarica incurfione deleantur: ita & Deus, quoniam barbara, & agresti mente, rabientes Damones ad pacis euersionem ubiq; versantur, ad tuolam nostram constituit exercitus Angelorum, ut eorum praesentia Daemonum confringatur audacia; & per eos nobis pacis gratia ministretur. For as (saith this holy Doctor) by the prouidence of an excellent Emperour all the Townes, all the Cities, all the Castles are fortified with men and munition, against the Enemies assault, and all places are strangely armed, least by the barbarous inuasion they should be destroyed: So, because the Diuels are in euery corner, raging and seaxeking for our ouerthrow, God Almighty (for our defence) hath constituted an Army of Angels, that
with

with their presence, the boldnesse of the Diuell might be abated: and so by them the grace of peace ministred vnto vs.

CHAP. XLIIII.

Whether besides the generall protection and helpe, from many, or all Angels in common, there be assigned to euery man one Angell, as his particular protector, guard, guide and keeper?

THough in the Church of Rome this is ordinarily accounted as a thing so clearely deduced of the holy Scripture, as who should deny that euery man hath his particular Angell, keeper, and guard, should be censured, at least way, temerarious; yet in the Church of England, and amongst all Protestants it is not thought a matter of such moment and certaintie: and so *Caluine* propounding this question;

An

*Calvin, lib. 1
Instit. cap.
14. §. 7.*
His opini-
on about
the parti-
cular An-
gelicall cu-
stodie.

*Gen. 48. 16
Dan. 10. 12
Iudith 13.
18.
Mat. 18. 10
Act. 12. 7.*

*Aug. tomo 7
de baptis.
contra Do-
natistas lib.
3. cap. 4.*

*An singulis hominibus singuli Angeli at-
tributi sint; answereth, pro certo affir-
mare non amsim; Whether every man
hath his peculiar Angell, I dare not
certainely affirme. The reason may be,
because there appeareth no firme
ground out of the Scripture, for such
an assertion.*

Neuerthelesse, many, euen Prote-
stants, thinke the affirmative part to
be the truth: first, out of those pla-
ces of Scripture, in which, as wee see
in the Chapter precedent, particular
Angels were assigned to particular
men, *Gen. 48: Mat. 18. Acts 12.* Se-
condly, out of the common consent
of both the ancient Greeke and La-
tine Church; whose words I will brief-
ly recite, first, of the Greeke, and then
of the Latine: *Qui mihi nullo modo*
(as Saint *Austine* in the like saith) *vi-
deri potuerunt, frustra voluisse istam
sententiam: non quia fieri non potuit, ut
in obscurissima questione verius pluri-
bus, unus, paucius sentirent: sed quia
non facile pro uno, vel pro paucis, ad-
uersus innumerabiles, eiusdem religionis*

Unitatis viros, & magno ingenio, & uberi doctrina preeditos, (nisi pertractatis pro viribus, atq; perspectis rebus) ferenda sententia est. Who being so many, and of so distinct times and places could in no wise seeme vnto mee, to haue without sufficient ground chosen the said opinion: not that it might not be, that in so obscure a question, one, or a few might not more truly iudge; but because wee are not easily to iudge for one or a few, against innumerable men of the same religion and vnitie, endued with great wits, and abundant doctrine.

Sentences collected out of the
ancient Greeke Fathers, touching the Angelicall custodie of man, and other inferiour creatures, both in generall and particular.

Saint *Iustinus*, an excellent Philosopher, Diuine, and Martyr, who flourished about the yeer of our Lord 150. amongst

*Iust. Mart.
quæst. 30.*

Marke a
strange &
curious
question.

The solu-
tion of the
fore-said
question.

amongst other most curious questions, and of no lesse difficultie, hath this; *Si quemlibet hominem Angelus sequitur custos ut sacra docens Litera*; If every man hath an Angell for his custodie and guard, as the holy Scriptures teach: and men sometimes increase in number, sometimes decrease and are fewer, as it hapned in the deluge, and other calamities, which men for their sinnes haue suffered; what did the Angels then, seeing they are not subiect to these mutations, seeing also that euery one of them, from the beginning, beganne with God the ministry of his function?

The solution which this holy Father giueth is this; *All the Angels, as well those that gouerne, as those that be gouerned, doe fulfill their function, both profitable to the heauens and men: but those to whom the ministry is committed, that they follow men as keepers, they are alwayes increased, neuer diminished: for eyther they doe follow the body and soule together, or the soule after the separation from the body, untill the*

the renovation of the world: but before they are made guards and keepers of men, they serue their Princes in other ministeries for men.

Athenagoras legatione pro Christianis: Idcirco Angelos Deus creauit, ut rebus a se digestis, prouiderent; quamuis enim ipse vniuersali sua & communi prouidentia vniuersis prospiciat: particularē tamen rerum singularium qua cuiq; fuerint commissa Angelis imposuit: God therefore created the Angels that they might looke to the things which hee had made: for although his Maiestie with his vniuersall and common prouidence doth gouerne and prouide for all, yet the particular care of particular things is committed vnto the Angels.

Clement Alexandrinus lib. 6. Stromatum: The governments of the Angels are distributed by Nations and cities, and peradventure some of them are deputed to euery one.

Origines hom. 8. in Genesim. The Angels haue as it were, the procuration of our soules, to whom, while wee are but

as

as yet little ones, wee are committed, as to Tutors and Padagogues, untill the time determined by the Father.

And in the eight Homilie vpon Ieremias; The Angels are president to all things, as well of the earth, as of the water, ayre, as fire, and so all those Angels (when wee (with whom they are daily conuersant) doe good reioyce, when we sinne they mourne.

How the
Angels re-
ioyce or
mourne.

The An-
gelicall of-
fice at the
day of iudg-
ment.

Hom. 11. in Numeros; *Vnusquisque Angelorum, &c.* Euery one of the Angels in the end of the world, shall be present, bringing forth to Iudgement those who were committed to their custodie, whom they helped, whom they instructed, and for whom they see the face of the Father, which is in heauen; yea, euen the Apostles themselves haue the Angelicall assistance and helpe in their Euangelicall function and ministerie: for so it was said in the *Acts of the Apostles*, that it was Peters Angell who knocked at the gate. After the same manner is vnderstood another, the Angell of *Paul*, as well as of *Peter*, or any other Apostle: and like-

Act. 12.

likewise of euery one of them in his order.

Eusebius de preparatione Enangelica, lib. 13. cap. 7. Angelum unicuique ad custodiam datum diuinitus, ex Scriptura didicimus; wee haue learned of the Scripture, that to euery man is giuen an Angell for his keeper. And Plato doubted not to write this in this forme: Because (saith hee) euery soule hath according to her lot, chosen a manner of lining, they therefore proceede in their order, moued of the Angell, which euery one hath obtained; who is sent into this world, together with them for to accomplish those things which they haue chosen. Yea, I thinke this to haue beene the meaning of Socrates, where hee repeateth so often, that hee had a Spirit by which hee was gouerned.

Saint Basil vpon the Psalme 33. To euery one that beleueth in Christ, there is appointed an assistant Angell, vlesse wee driue him from vs by our wicked actions: for as smoake driueth away Bees, and stinck Doves, so euill-smelling Sinne, the Angell, the keeper of our life: for if

S

thou

Psal. 91.

Plato his opinion about the fore-said point.

What Socrates meant by his assistant spirit.

How our assistant Angel may be driuen away from vs, according to S. Basils opinion.

An Angell
for his ex-
cellencie is
compared
to an infi-
nit number
of men.

thou hast in thy soule those things which are worthy the Angelicall custodie; and thy minde hath fixed vnto it selfe, a rich passace within thee, by continuall contemplation of the truth; and by excellent workes which thou hast wrought according to vertue, then it is necessary that thou be assisted by such a custody. Consider therefore what an excellent nature the Angelicall is, seeing that one onely Angell is compared to a whole armie of an infinit multitude of men: for the greatnesse therefore of him that keepeth forts and munition, are said to be giuen thee of almightie God, for thy defence; yea, by the vertue and force of the Angell, hee compasseth thee as it were on euery side, with securitie, which is by him.

And in his third Booke against Euenomius, he proueth this more at large, where hee saith: *All Angels, as they be of one name, so also of one nature; neuertheles some are made prefects of Nations, some of some pte of the faithfull onely. Wherefore how much a whole nation exceedeth in dignitie one onely man, so much*

much the Angels, who assist and governe
a whole Nation, excell in dignitie those
who protect but one man: but thus to
every one of the faithfull there assisteth
one Angell, as Padagogue, and Pastor, to
direct his life; there is none will contra-
dict, who remembreth the words of our
Saviour, who said: Doe not condemne one
of these little ones, for I say vnto you,
their Angels doe alwayes see the face of
my Father, who is in Heauen. Againe,
that there be some Angels as protectors of
whole Nations, Moses teacheth vs in his
Song: Quando diuidebat Altissimus
Gentes, quando separabat filios Adam,
constituit terminos populorum iuxta
numerum Angelorum suorum. And
Daniel the wise, heard him in the vi-
sion of the Angell, saying; Because the
Prince of the Kingdome of Persia resisted
mee, and behold Michael one of the
chiefe Princes came to helpe me.

Didimus Alexandrinus: Good and
holly men haue for their keepers Angels,

Hebrew Text saith thus, Hee set the bounds of the people according to
the number of the Children of Israel, making no mention of Angels
at all.

Marke this
collection
of this do-
ctor about
the greater
or lesse
dignitie of
one Angel
in regard
of another.

Mark
the
distinction
between
the
greater
and
lesse
Angels.

Deut. 32.8

This text
of Moses
was mista-
ken by this
and some
other of
the fathers,
being de-
ceued by
the Greeke
Translati-
on: where-
as the He-

*Apud Damascenum
etiam in Pa-
ralellis, lib.
1. cap. 7.*

*Apud Da-
masceum
etiam in
Paralellis.
Wherein
consisteth
the Ange-
licall friend-
ship with
man,*

*The distri-
bution of
the Ange-
licall offi-
ces accord-
ing to
Naxianz
opinion.*

of light : the bad, the Angels of dark-
nesse.

*Enagrius : The vncleane and wicked
is seperated from that Angell which was
giuen vnto him from a childe, as keeper
and protector; for that spirituall friend-
ship onely consisteth in vertue, and know-
ledge of God.*

*Saint Gregory Nazianzene, carmine
6. de substantijs mente peditis.*

*Ac pars athereum circumstat sedula
numen.*

*Pronaque ad obsequium : pars altera
sustinet orbem,*

*Auxilioq; suo seruat sic scilicet illi,
Diuersa vt curent, caelestia iussa se-
quentes;*

*illi homines, vrbes isti, gentesq; gu-
bernent.*

So that some, as this Saint distribu-
teth, attend with all submission and
diligence, the diuine maiestie and will:
another part sustaine and protect the
world; so that all, and euery of them,
in their severall offices, execute his
blessed will; some governing men, some
Cities,

Cities, some finally, whole Nations and Kingdomes: but yet in such manner, as all of them in generall, are perpetually in the presence and blessed vision of God; yea, all, none excepted, are *ministering Spirits, sent forth to minister for their sakes, which shall be heirs of saluation.*

Epiphanius in like manner, *Hereſis* 51. saith, that the Kingdomes and Nations are under the government or protection of Angels, as Moses the seruant of God doth witnesse, saying; *Quando diuifit altissimus Gentes, velut diſperſit filios Adam, conſtituit terminos Gentium iuxta numerum Angelorum Dei.* When the Highest diuided the Nations, as when hee diſperſed the Sonnes of Adam, he constituted their limits according to the number of the Angels of God. *Si igitur ſaith Epiphanius* Gentes sub Angelis posita sunt, merito dixit, [Solue quatuor Angelos qui in Euphrate deſident,] if therefore the Nations be put vnder the government of the Angels, with reason he said; loose the foure Angels, which be resident in Euphrates.

Deut. 32. 8

See before
the note
vpon S.
Basil.

the faithfull hath his Angell, as *Iacob* saith, The Angell which feedeth mee, and deliuereth mee even from my youth.

*Cyrl. Alex.
lib. 4. contra
Iulianum*

Cirillus Alex. Et virtutes sanctas, ac rationales, ab ipso quidem originem sortitas, subsistentes autem sine omni macula, assuetas humili sensu, illius sceptris ac dominica voluntati obedire nobiscum qui ledimur militare iussit. Non quod ipse ad saluandum infirmus: quomodo enim vel unde? sed ut Rex quidam fidelibus ministris permittens contra barbarorum se opponere, & subditorum depellere insolentia: Immittit enim (inquit) angelus Domini in circuitu timentium eum, & liberabit eos. Dictum est autem per vocem sanctorum, sancto omni, & bene operari eligenti; Angelis suis praecepit de te, ut custodiant te in omnibus vijs tuis: Loe, it is said to every one of the Saints (saith this Saint) and to every one who choseth to doe well; Hee will giue charge to his Angels ouer thee, that they keepe thee in all thy wayes.

Psal. 77.

Psal. 90.

*Cassianus
collat. 8.
cap. 17.*

Cassianus: Quod vnicuique nostrum duo coherent Angeli, id est, bonus & malus

malus Scriptura testatur: de bonis quidem, Saluator Ne contemnatis (inquiens) vnum ex pusillis istis, dico enim vobis, quod Angeli eorum in cœlis, semper vident faciem Patris mei qui est in cœlis: The Scripture testifieth, that euery one of vs hath two Angels assigned for our custodie, a good Angell and a bad: of the good Angell, saying; Doe not contemne one of these little ones, for I say vnto you, their Angels doe alwayes see the face of my Father which is in Heauen.

Andreas Casariensis: Singulis hominibus Angelus custos prapositus est; hos autem Angelos custodes ob naturæ claritatem, vitæq; sanctitatem & castimoniam, tropo quodam stellarum voce denominat: Euery one hath an Angel giuen vnto him, as keeper; and these Angels which are said to be our guards, are for their brightnesse, sanctitie and puritie, by a certaine trope, called by the name of Starres.

Procopius Gazens: Our nature being fallen into sinne: God hath giuen to euery one an Angell as helper and protector,

*Andre. Cas.
ad cap. 2.
Apoc.*

*Procopius
Gaz. ad cap.
4. Exodus.*

*Idem ad cap.
6. Eliair.*

*Orthodoxa
fidei lib. 2.
cap. 3.*

*Germ. Ora-
tione de ob-
dormitione
Beatae Ma-
riae Dei Ge-
netricis.*

protector, so that this protection is only *Dei nutu*: for that their primarie life is to contemplate the beautie of God; their secondary onely, and externe, the function of humane protection.

Damasene: *Ad explendam Dei voluntatem, fortes ac prompti sunt Angeli*: The Angels are prompt and ready to execute the will of God; and according as they are appointed by him, every of them doth keepe certaine parts of the earth, and doe protect the Regions and People: *ac res nostras gubernant, ac nobis opem ferunt*; and doe governe our things, and helpe vs.

Germanus Constantinopolitanus: *Cum genus humanum conditum esset, Angeli diuinitus constituti sunt, qui vita ipsorum custodes essent, atque praesides*: when mankinde was created, there were also Angels constituted for their protection, and presidents in their life. *Sic enim scriptum sacris literis legimus* nationum limites pro Angelorum Dei numero statuit. *Item, Angelus Domini circa timentium eum castra munit.*

Theophastrus: The Angels be mens presidents,

presidents, keepers, and protectors; least our common enemy the Diuell should preuaile against vs. *Omnes enim homines, & maxime fideles suos habent Angelas;* for that all men, and principally the faithfull, haue their Angels.

Occumenius ad cap. 12. Act. Ex hoc (inquit) manifestum est, quemcunq; nostrum habere Angelum: Out of this it is manifest, that euery one of vs hath his Angell.

Euthymius: Angelorum semper vident faciem Patris. By this it is manifest, that the righteous and iust men haue the Angels as keepers: for as *Dauid* saith; *Castra metabitur Angelus Domini in circuitu timentium eum & eripiet eos;* The Angell of the Lord will pitch his tents in the circuit of them that feare him, and will deliuer them: and therefore hee concludeth in effect, with our Saniour in the place before alledged; *Quos autem seruant Angeli, qui tantam apud Deum habent libertatem, ut semper vident Deum, qui in caelis est, verò hoc deservire non oportet: nisi non propter illorum virtutem*

Theophil. ad cap. 18. Mat.

Occumenius ad cap. 12. Act.

Euthymius ad cap. 13. Mat.

Psal. 33.

and *Nysseus* in his Booke of the liſeph
Mofes, its true ſpeech hath deſcended un-
 to vs, by which wee beleoue that our na-
 ture, euen after our fall into ſinne, is not
 altogether forlorne of the diuine clemen-
 cie, neither left without his ſuccour, but
 that then alſo there is giuen to every
 man, one of the Angels, as helper and
 protector: as there is in like manner, a
 bad Angell deſigned alſo to every one, who
 allureth to wickedneſſe. So that it ſee-
 meth, this Doctor maketh it matter
 certaine, that every one hath a good
 Angell allotted him: at leaſt way, wee
 may by this iudge, that this was ſo or-
 dinarily holden of the Fathers, that it
 was out of queſtion: in that hee ſaith,
Vnus ſex quo ad nos, vſque deſcendit, qua
creditur, &c. A true ſpeech hath deſ-
 cended vnto vs, by which it is belee-
 ued.

Chryſ. hom.
3. ad cap. 1.
ad Coloff.
 his diuiſi-
 on of the
 Angelicall
 protecti-
 on.

Which alſo diuiſion of the Ange-
 licall aſſiſtance, is of Saint *Chryſoſtome*
 onely with this difference, that this
 Saint holdeth, the firſt diuiſion and al-
 lotting of the Angelicall cuſtody and
 protection, was firſt for, and according

to the number of Nations, afterward of men, & that not of euery sort of men, but onely of the faithfull; *Primo congruentes numero Gentium erant Angeli, nunc autem non congruentes numero Gentium, sed numero fidelium*; First of all (saith this holy Father) the holy Angels were according to the number of the Nations, but now not so, but to the number of the faithfull. Yea, hee seemeth to make it almost a matter of Faith, or at least way, certaine, from the mouth of the Truth it selfe: for so he vrgeth, *Vnde hoc constat? audi Christum dicentem, videte ne despiciatis unum de pusillis istis; Angeli enim eorum perpetuò vident faciem Patris mei qui est in cælis: unusquisq; enim fidelis habebat Angelum. Nam etiam ab initio unusquisq; vir probus habet Angelum, sicut dicit Iacob, Angelus qui pascit me, & liberat me?* But how is this manifest? (saith this Doctor) Heare Christ saying, Take heede you contemne not one of these little ones, for their Angels alwayes see the face of my Father which is in heaven. For euery one of

the faithfull hath his Angell, as *Iacob* saith, The Angell which feedeth mee, and deliuereth mee even from my youth.

Cyrl. Alex.
lib. 4. contra
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Cirillus Alex. Et virtutes sanctas, ac rationales, ab ipso quidem originem sortitas, subsistentes autem sine omni macula, assuetas humili sensu, illius scepbris ac dominica voluntati obedire nobiscum qui ledimur militare iussit. Non quod ipse ad saluandum infirmus: quomodo enim vel unde? sed ut Rex quidam fidelibus ministris permittens contra barbarorum se opponere, & subditorum depellere insolentiam: Immittit enim (inquit) angelus Domini in circuitu timentium eum, & liberabit eos. Dictum est autem per vocem sanctorum, sancto omni, & bene operari eligenti; Angelis suis præcipiet de te, ut custodiant te in omnibus vijs tuis: Loc, it is said to every one of the Saints (saith this Saint) and to every one who choseth to doe well; Hee will giue charge to his Angels ouer thee, that they keepe thee in all thy wayes.

Plal. 77.

Plal. 90.

Cassianus
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Cassianus: Quod unicuique nostrum duo coherent Angeli, id est, bonus & malus

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Andreas Casariensis: Singulis hominibus Angelus custos prepositus est; hos autem Angelos custodes ob naturæ claritatem, vitæq; sanctitatem & castimoniam, tropo quodam stellarum voce denominat: Euery one hath an Angel giuen vnto him, as keeper; and these Angels which are said to be our guards, are for their brightnesse, sanctitie and puritie, by a certaine trope, called by the name of Starres.

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*Andra. Cas.
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4. Euan. 1.*

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Orthodoxa
fidei lib. 2.
cap. 3.

Germ. Ora-
tione de ob-
dormitione
Beata Ma-
ria Dei Ge-
nitricis.

protector, so that this protection is only Dei nutu: for that their primarie life is to contemplate the beautie of God; their secondary onely, and externe, the function of humane protection.

Damasene: *Ad explendam Dei voluntatem, fortes ac prompti sunt Angeli*: The Angels are prompt and ready to execute the will of God; and according as they are appointed by him, euery of them doth keepe certaine parts of the earth, and doe protect the Regions and People: *ac res nostras gubernant, ac nobis opem ferunt*, and doe gouerne our things, and helpe vs.

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Theophilactus: The Angels be mens presidents,

presidents, keepers, and protectors; least
our common enemy the Diuell should pre-
uaile against vs. *Omnes enim homines,
& maxime fideles suos habent Angelas;*
for that all men, and principally the
faithfull, haue their Angels.

*Occumenius ad cap. 12. Act. Ex his
(inquit) manifestum est, quemcumq; no-
strum habere Angelum;* Out of this it
is manifest, that euery one of vs hath
his Angell.

*Euthymius: Angeli eorum semper vi-
dent faciem Patris.* By this it is mani-
fest, that the righteous and iust men
haue the Angels as keepers: for as Da-
uid saith; *Castra metabitur Angelus
Domini in circuitu timentium eum &
eripiet eos;* The Angell of the Lord will
pitch his tents in the circuit of them
that feare him, and will deliuer them:
and therefore hee concludeth in ef-
fect, with our Saviour in the place be-
fore alledged; *Quos autem seruant An-
geli, qui tantam apud Deum habent li-
bertatem, ut semper videant Deum,
qui in caelis est, verò hos despicere non
oportet: nisi non propter illorum vir-
tutem*

Theophil.
ad cap. 18.
Mat.

Occumenius
ad cap. 12.
Act.

Euthymius
ad cap. 18.
Mat.

Psal. 33.

Theodorus
in Genesim.
quæst. 3.

tutem; ac saltem propter custodes eorum.

Theodoretus: Quod Angeli substantiam habeant circumscriptam nemo repugnabit, cum Dominus dixerit, singulos homines subesse singulorum Angelorum imperio. Videte (inquit) ne contemnatis vnum ex pusillis istis, quia Angeli eorum semper vident faciem Patris mei qui in coelis est. Quinetiam cuique Genti proprium Angelum præesse affirmat scriptura, verbi gratia, Statuit terminos gentium iuxta numerum Angelorum dei. No man will deny but that the Angelicall substance is circumscript or limited, seeing that God hath pronounced every particular man to be vnder the gouernment of some particular Angell: Take heede yee doe not consemne one of these little ones, &c. Moreouer, the Scripture affirmeth that every nation and kingdome hath their particular Angell, as prefect, president, & protector, according to that, Hec determinat that the confines and limits of the Nations should be according to the number of the Angels of God. Which prooffe, though

Deut. 32. 8

though it be not so solide and certaine,
because the Hebrew originall is other-
wise, yet it is conformable to the Greek
Translation, which many of the Greeke
Fathers did follow: so that at least way,
by this we may see their tenent, though
wee follow not their prooffe in this last
allegation of *Deuteronomie*: and this
also is the opinion of many other
more moderne Writers of the Greci-
ans, as of *Pantaleon*, in *Encomio diui
Michaelis*, *Michael Glicas* parte 2. *Anna-
lium*, *Nicholaus Cabasilas* de *liturgia*,
cap. 34. *Nicephorus Callistus* *hist. eccles.*
lib. 14. cap. 21. *Antiochus* *hom.* 61. *Isi-
dorus Pelusiota* lib. 2. *Epist.* 85. *Sophro-
nius* in *Encomio Angelorum*, *Anastasinus
Nixanus* libro 5. *Exameron*.

Pantaleon,
Mich. Glic.
Nicol. Cab.
Niceph. Cal.
Antiochus,
Isid. Pelus.
Sophronius,
Anast. Nix.

CHAP.

CAP. XLV.

Wherein is declared the consent of
the Latine Church, about the
same Angelicall custodie.

SVch is the authoritie of the true
Primitive Catholike Church, to
one of her most principall pillars S.
Augustine, that hee doubted not to say;
*Euangelio non crederem, nisi me Catho-
lica Ecclesia communeret authoritas*; I
would not giue credit even to the Gos-
pell, vnlesse the authoritie of the Ca-
tholike Church should moue mee
thereunto. In like manner I may be
bold to say in this point of the Ange-
licall protection; *Euangelio ita de hac
protectione explicato non crederem, nisi
me eiusdem Ecclesia Patrum commo-
neret authoritas*; I vould not giue
credit vnto diuers parts of the Scrip-
tures, expounded of the Angelicall
protection, vnlesse the authoritie of
the

Aug. libro 6
contra epi-
scopos schi-
smatici.
cap. 5.

the Fathers did moue mee: not that the last and formall reason of our beliefe or opinion (eyther in this, or any, euen fundamentall point of our faith) is eyther the Churches authoritie, or Fathers expositions, but that these may be, and are, a guiding light vnto that eternall Light, Truth, and Rocke, vpon which onely the Church is builded: and by which, as by the first rule of all, all truth is to be measured: now therefore hauing seene the consent of the Greeke Fathers, a great and worthy part of the vniuersall Church, it remaineth wee also set downe the like of the Latine, especially of those who speake most particularly of this matter.

Amongst whom, *Tertullian*, who flourished about the yeere of our Lord 200. is of opinion, that this Angelicall function about men, doth beginne euen before our natiuitie, in the precedent dispositions of our generation: for so hee saith, *Omnem hominis in utero ferendi, struendi, fingendi paraturam, aliqua utiq; potestas diuina voluntatis*
ministra

Tertullians
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*lib. de ani-
 ma, cap. 37.*

*Aponius
lib. 5. in
Cautica.*

ministra modulatur, Certainly, some power, doth as Instrument of the diuine will, dispose, frame, fashion and order the dispositions of humane generation, euen in our mothers wombe. And these Instruments of Almighty God, hee declareth a little after, to be the blessed Angels; saying, that those *officia diuina*, diuine offices, substitutes or Instruments, *Angelos credimus*, wee belieue to be the Angels.

So that euen from this first instant of our beeing, or rather when wee are but as yet in *feri*, as the Philosophers tearme it, that is, but in producing, *angelorum custodia erga homines contra Damonum impugnationem instituta est*: wee are as it were, prevented by the diuine prouidence and care ouer vs, with the Angelicall custody against all assaults of the Diuels.

**Victorinus
Pictauensis.
in Apoc.
What be
the foure
Angels
constituted
in the
foure corners
of the
earth.*

**Victorinus Pictauensis: Quatuor
Angeli per quatuor angulos terra &c.
The foure Angels constituted in the
foure corners of the earth, or the foure
windes beyond the riuer Euphrates,
be the foure Nations, because to euery
nation*

Nation there is deputed of almighty God, an Angell, as protector, according as it is written: *statuit eos super numerum Angelorum Dei, donec sanctorum compleatur numerus.*

Hilarius ad Psal. 129. Meminimus esse plures spirituales virtutes quibus Angelorum est nomen, Ecclesijs presidentes, &c. Wee remember that there be many spirituall vertues, who haue the name of Angels, and are presidents vnto the Churches. For, as Saint Iohn saith, the Churches of Asia haue their Angels: and, as Moses testifieth, the limits of the nations are determined for the Sonnes of Adam, according to the number of the Angels: yea, as our Sauiour saith, the Angels of the little ones alwayes see the face of my father which is in heauen.

So Saint Ambrose lib. de Viduis. The Angels are given vnto vs, *ad praesidium*, for to defend, succour, and guard vs from all our enemies.

Saint Hierome: *Quod unusquisque nostrum habeat Angelos multa Scriptura docent, &c.* That euery of vs hath

Hil. ad Psal.
129.

Amb. lib. de
viduis.

Hieron. ad
cap. 66.
Esaia.

T

his

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tur ad Dominum.* Our wordes doe not
(saith hee) passe away in the winde;
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present as a companion to euery of vs.

Saint *Austine*, or whosoever was the
Author of the Worke called *Solidoquinia*
*Thou makest thy Angels Spirits for my
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that they keepe mee in all my wayes.* And
therefore in another place, he calleth
them, *Custodes vite nostre*; the keepers
of our life: and that most rightly, *con-
bulant enim nobiscum in omnibus vite
nostris, intrant, & exeunt nobiscum, at-
tentè considerantes, quam pie, quam ho-
nestè, in medio nationis praua conuerso-
mur: adiuvant laborantes, protegunt
quiescentes, hortantur pugnantes, exul-
tant nobiscum vincentes.*

Primasius: To every man (according
as the Doctors say) there is generally gi-
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stody; and this eyther from his natiuitie

*Hieron. ad
cap. 1. Eccl. 1.
The same
are of Ale-
xander. eccl.
cap. 5. Eccles.*

*Augustinus
sue quisquis
fuerit Soli-
loquiorum
author.
cap. 27.
Psal. 103.
& 90.*

*Tomo 10. de
tempore ser-
mone 7.
Solidoquinia
cap. 27.*

*Primasius
ad cap. 1. E-
pistol. ad Heb.*

CHAP. XLV.

Wherein is declared the consent of
the Latine Church, about the
same Angelicall custodie.

Aug. tome 6
contra epi-
scopam fun-
damenti.
(4). 5.

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Primitive Catholike Church, to
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tures, expounded of the Angelicall
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the Fathers did moue mee: not that the last and formall reason of our be- liefe or opinion (eyther in this, or any, euen fundamentall point of our faith) is eyther the Churches authoritie, or Fathers expositions, but that these may be, and are, a guiding light vnto that eternall Light, Truth, and Rocke, vpon which onely the Church is build- ed: and by which, as by the first rule of all, all truth is to be measu- red: now therefore hauing seene the consent of the Greeke Fathers, a great and worthy part of the vniuersall Church, it remaineth wee also set downe the like of the Latine, especia- lly of those who speake most particu- larly of this matter.

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So that euen from this first instant of our beeing, or rather when wee are but as yet in *fieri*, as the Philosophers tearme it, that is, but in producing, *angelorum custodia erga homines contra Damonum impugnationem instituta est*: wee are as it were, prevented by the diuine prouidence and care ouer vs, with the Angelicall custody against all assaults of the Diuels.

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Amb. lib. de
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Hieron. ad
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Esaiæ.

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Saint *Austine*, or whosoever was the Author of the Worke called *Soliloquia*: Thou makest thy Angels Spirits for my sake, to whom thou hast commaunded, that they keepe mee in all my wayes. And therefore in another place, he calleth them, *Custodes vitae nostrae*; the keepers of our life: and that most rightly; *ambulant enim nobiscum in omnibus viis nostris, intrant, & exeunt nobiscum, attentè considerantes, quam pie, quam honestè, in medio nationis praua conuersemur: adiuvant laborantes, protegunt quiescentes, hortantur pugnantes, exultant nobiscum vincentes.*

Primasius: To euery man (according as the Doctors say) there is generally giuen an Angell for his protection and custody; and this cyther from his natiuitie

Hieron. ad cap. 1. Eccl. 6.
The same
are of *Al-*
quimus ad
cap. 5. Eccl. 6.

Augustinus
sive quisquis
fuerit Soli-
loquiorum
author.
cap. 27.
Psal. 103.
& 90.

Tomo 10. d.
tempore (e-
mone 7.
Soliloquiorum
cap. 27.

Primasius
ad cap. 1. E-
pist. ad Hsb.

When the
Angelicall
custody be-
ginneth
with men.]

or Baptisme. And this peradventure may seeme more probable, then that of *Tertallian* before alledged, that this Angelicall custodie begun before our natiuitie; because as some Diuines say, the childe is then but as it were a part of the Mother, and so consequently one Angell, to wit, the Mothers, protecteth both; but in this (I confesse) I finde no certaintie, neyther of authoritie or reason, inforcing to cyther part; though for the authoritie of Saint *Hierome*, *Radulphus*, *Ardens*, and of *Primasius*, I thinke it more probable, that this custody beginneth from our natiuitie, or first instant of our coming to light.

Greg. Mag.
in Job. lib. 4.
cap. 27.

Gregory the great; So Beasts be subiect to Men, Men to Angels, Angels to Archangels: and this Angelicall subordination hee proueth out of *Daniel* the 10. Chapter; and *Zachary* the second; but as concerning this subordination of the Angelicall powers, more afterwards.

Isid. de sum-
mo bono, seu
lib. 1. fens.
cap. 12.

Isidorus Hispalensis: Omnes homines habere Angelos, probatur loquente Do-

mino

mino in Euangelio; Angeli eorum, &c. That all men haue their Angels it is manifest out of our Sauours wordes; *Their Angels, &c.* Whereupon when Peter in the *Acts of the Apostles*, knocked at the gate, the Apostles that were within said; *Non est Petrus, sed Angelus eius est, it is not Peter, but it is his Angell.* Againe, lib. 1. *originum capite de Angelis*, he is of opinion, that there is none, not onely man, but also place or good worke, to which the Angels be not presidents, and as it were ouer-seers and protectors; which hee deduceth out of that, *Princeps Persarum resistit mihi*; the Prince of the Persians resisted me.

And hereupon we may well deduce, euery one for his owne particular profit; *Semper in Dei timore permanendum, certi unumquemq; nostrum habere Angelum Dei, qui obseruet inquit, quid agamus: & si quidem bene agimus, gaudium offerimus Angelis nostris; Si verb malis operibus vacamus, Angelos sanctos repellimus & malignas Damones nobis asciscimus*: that wee liue alwayes (saith

Mat. 18.

AQ. 12.

That all men, places, & good workes haue the Angelicall helpe and assistance.

Audemus in vita S. Eligii, c. 16.

this Doctor) in the feare of God, assuring our selues, that every one of vs hath his peculiarly assigned Angell, who doth continually obserue what we doe.

Anselmus in Elucidario : where hee introduceth by way of a Dialogue, the Disciple asking his Master, *Habentne homines custodes Angelos* ? Whether men haue Angels for their keepers or no ? The Master answereth, that *there be Angels assigned as guards and keepers to every Nation and Citie, who doe iustly constitute and ordaine, and set downe vnto them iust Lawes, Orders, and Statutes; yea, every soule that is sent into this life, is also committed to some particular Angell, who doth continually moue him to all good.*

Beda lib.
quest. 9.
Ex ad. cap.
12. A. 1.

Venerable Bede : The good Angels be deputed to the ministry of mans saluation, that they may administer the cares of the world, and gouerne all the things commanded of God, according to the Apostle; *Nonne omnes (inquis) administratorij spiritus sunt, &c.* Also all nations are thought to haue their Angels, which

which is shovne by the testimonie of the Angell which spake unto Daniel; Ego (inquit) veni vt nunciarem tibi; I (saith hee) came to declare unto thee, But the Prince of the Persians resisted mee. And a little after, There was none to helpe me but Michaell your Prince. Furthermore it is proued that all men haue their Angels, according to the saying of our Saviour in the Gospell; Verily I say unto you, because their Angels alwayes see the face of my Father.

And to be briefe, this is not onely the opinion of the most ancient Fathers, and Schoole Diuines, but of the most also of moderne Writers vpon the fore-said places, alledged by the Fathers, as of *Isidorus de summo bono*, lib. 3. seu libro primo sententiarum, cap. 12. & lib. 4. originum, cap. de Angelis, *Audoenus vita S. Eligij* cap. 16. *Apomius* lib. 5. in Cant. *Alcuinus* ad cap. 5. Ecclesiastis. *Haymo* in festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli. Also of *Rabanus Maurus*, *Jonas Aurelianusensis*, *Remigius*, *Alcisiuodorensis*, *Petrus Damia-*
Jonas Aur. de epist. Imaginum lib. 3. *Remigius* ad Psal. 33. & 90.

Rabanus
Maurus de
minorib. lib.
1. cap. 5.

Petrus Da-
mianus ser.
de exaltati-
one Sancte
Crucis.

Radulphus
Ard. in fest.
Angelorum.
Hildebertus
epist. 37.

Honorius in
speculo Ec-
clesie serm.
de Michaelis
Archangelo.

Hugo Vict.
summa san.
ar. 2. cap. 6.

Lombardus
lib. 2. d. 11.

Potho de
statu domus
Dei lib. 5.

cap. 9.
Cesar. lib. 8.

cap. 41.
Aluernus

de Sacra-
mento per-
sentie, c. 15.

Albertus
Magnus

lib. 1. sent.
dist. 16.

Scot. 2. sent.
d. 12. q. 1.

nus, Radulphus Ardens, Hildebertus,
Honorius, Hugo Victorinus, Petrus Lom-
bardus, Potho Prumiensis, Casarius,
Gulielmus Aluernus, Albertus Mag-
nus, Richardus de media villa, Scotus,
Lyra, Durand, Triumphus, Taulerus,
Aliacus, Gerson, and Bernardinus:
and thus much concerning the gene-
rall protection and custody of Regi-
ons and men, it remaineth now wee
treate briefly of the particular.

CHAP. XLVI.

Of the particular Angelicall cu-
stody of Paradise, and what is
to be understood by the Cheru-
bin, and fierie sword, which is
said to keepe the entrance of Pa-
radise.

ONE of the most difficult, and cu-
rious Questions of the Booke of
Genesis, seemeth to be about the vn-
derstanding of those wordes, of the
third

third Chapter, ver. 24. Where it is said, that at the East-side of the Garden of Eden, hee (to wit, God almightie) set the Cherubins, and the blade of a sword *sbaken*, to keepe the way of the tree of life: In the interpretation of which wordes there be fixe principall opinions.

The first of Saint *Ambrose*, who thinketh, that by the name of Cherubins and the sword, are in no wise to be interpreted the angelicall power, defence and guard of Paradise, but rather a kinde of purging fire; his words be these: *There is also a Baptisme in the very entrance of Paradise, which was not before; but after that the Sinner was excluded, there beganne to be a fiery sword, which God put, which was not before when there was no sinne. The sinne beganne, and so the Baptisme beganne, by which they might be purified, who desired to returne to paradise: that hauing returned, they might say, We haue passed by fire and water: Here by water, there by fire. By water, that our sinnes might be washed away: by fire, that they might*
be

*Amb. ex-
planans illa
verba Psal-
mi 118 Re-
tribue seruo
tuo, vt vind-
icet custodi-
am verba
tua.*

be burned away. But who is hee that baptiseth with this fire? not the Priest; not the Bishop, not Iohn who saith, Ego vos baptizo in poenitentiam; I baptise you to repentance: No Angell, no Archangell, no Dominations, no Powers, but he of whom Iohn saith; He who commeth after mee, is stronger then I am, hee shall baptise you in the holy Ghost and in fire.

Rup. lib. 3.
com. in Gen.
cap. 32. &
33.

This also is the opinion of *Rupertus*, who affirmeth, that therefore this fire was put before Paradise, that those who should passe to euermlasting glory might passe immaculate, according to that of the Psalme 65. Thou hast proued vs, (O God) thou hast examined vs in fire, as siluer is examined. But this fire (saith *Rupertus*) which is put before Paradise, maketh it altogether inaccessible, by reason of the vehement heate it sendeth forth, which diffuseth it selfe very farre. Which hee sheweth, for that Nilus, being one of the foure Riueres which spring in Paradise, the nearer we goe towards the head thereof, the hoater alwayes be both the waters and countrey:

tre: which though the Egyptians imagine to be by reason of the *torrida Zona*, of the toasting clyme, neuerthelesse it seemeth to him more probable that this is not the reason, but rather the heate of the purging fire placed before Paradise; which, in the Scripture, is called by the name of Cherubins. *Porro, Cherubin nomen est Angelicarum fortitudinum, hac ad Paradysum esse posita ad custodiendum ligni vite aditum, cum legimus miramur, cum tamen publica fide teneamus & confiteamur, quod per ignem transaturi, & non nisi per Angelorum ministerium examinati Paradysum intraturi sumus:* Moreover, the Cherubins are a name of Angelicall fortitude, at whom wee wonder when wee heare to be placed at the entrance of Paradise; when neuerthelesse, wee doe hold and professe by publike faith, that wee are to passe by fire, and are not to enter into Paradise, but examined by the ministry of the Angels.

The second opinion is of *Aquinas*, who holdeth that by the Cherubins

custody

*Aquin. 2.2
quæst. 165.
ar. ultimo.*

custody of Paradise, is signified onely the situation of Paradise vnder the *Aequinoctiall* line, so that the fiery sword which the Angell doth hold before Paradise, is nothing else but the mighty heate of the *torrida Zona*, or toasting climate; which, as it were a sword indeede, pierceth and killeth the approachers: and therefore it is said to be in a perpetuall circular motion, that thereby may be signified the continual course of the Sunne vpon that fiery climate; from whence proceedeth the vehemencie of the fore-said heate and fiery sword, which the Angels are said to hold, because (according to Saint *Austine*, and many other great Philosophers) the heauens are moued by the Angels. And this also seemeth to be the opinion of *Tertullian*; but neuerthelesse hath no more ground then the former; for that it is most certaine out of *Genesis*, that this angelicall custody was placed before Paradise, after the sinne of our first Parents, and their expulsion thence: but the *torrida Zona*, or fiery clymate; had

had his beeing and heate, where it is, even from the beginning of the world; neyther was it made for the reuenge of sinne, but rather doth necessarily follow the naturall construction and frame of the world.

The third opinion in this point, is of *Abulenſis*, and the Master of the Scholasticall History, who imagine, that by this fiery sword is not really signified any reall angelicall assistance or defence of Paradise, but rather by this kinde of figuratiue speech, the great copie of fiery flames, which inuiron Paradise as a wall, or is placed before it as a bulwarke or defence, which impediment *Epiphanius* iudged to haue endured onely the life of *Adam*.

The fourth opinion, not vnlike vnto the former, is, that this narration of *Moses* as touching the custody of Paradise by the Cherubins, is not Historicall but Allegoricall: so that by these two impediments of the Cherubins and fiery sword, are to be vnderstood the two kinde of hinderances, which

* ὅτι ὅτι
 ὅτι ἡμῶν
 πάλιν
 πρὸς αἰ-
 μα καὶ
 σάρκα,
 ἀλλὰ
 πρὸς τὰς
 ἀρχὰς
 πρὸς τὰς
 ἐξουσίας,
 πρὸς τὰς
 κοσμο-
 κρατοῦσας
 τῆς οὐ-
 ρανίας
 τῆς τῆς
 αἰωνίου
 τῆς τῆς
 πρὸς τὰ
 πνευ-
 ματικὰ
 τῆς πονη-
 ρίας, ἐν
 τοῖς ἐπαι-
 νοῖς.
 What is
 signified
 by the fie-
 ry sword
 placed be-
 fore Para-
 dise.

which wee haue in this life of obtay-
 ning our eternall blisse, and perfect
 fruition of God; the one visible, the
 other inuisible: which last (as these
 Doctors doe expound) be the Diuels,
 here signified by the Cherubins, ac-
 cording to that of Saint * Paul in the
 last Chapter to the Ephesians; *We wre-
 stle not against flesh and bloud, but a-
 gainst Principalities, against Powers,*
against the worldly Governours, the
Princes of the darkneses of this world,
against spirituall wickedneses which are
in high places. Or, as the vulgare, which
 seemeth to make more for this pur-
 pose; *Non est nobis colluctatio aduersus*
carnem & sanguinem, sed aduersus prin-
cipes & potestates, aduersus mundi re-
ctores tenebrarum harum, to wit, the
 Diuels, who are the governours of the
 darkneses of this world, and *spiritualia*
nequitie in celestibus.

The second impediment of attay-
 ning vnto our last felicitie, signified by
 the fiery sword placed before the Gar-
 den of pleasures, are all sensible ob-
 iects and delights, which with their
 forcible

forcible application, and vehemencie of their nature, so agreeable vnto our sensitiue appetite, with draw vs! from our true delight and Paradise; so that if wee obtaine it, it must be by continuall fighting against the Spirit of wickednesse, which holdeth this Sword, and hindereth all passage to true felicitie.

The fift opinion is of *Theodorus*, Bishop of Heraclæa, *Procopius Gazæus*, and *Theodoretus*, who iudge these Cherubins not to be any Angelicall powers, but rather some horrible visions of Beasts, which might terrifie *Adam* from the entrance of Paradise: which opinion *Theodoretus* thus proueth; *Cum visio sensibilis esse deberet, qua ipsum Adamum exterreret, non igitur gladius ille flammeus naturaliter igneus erat, sed visus talis; neq; Cherubin erant animalia, sed talia videbantur: Siquidem & Ezechiel Cherubin vidit habentes quatuor facies, cum tamen inuisibilis natura quadruplicem faciem non habeat, sed Cherubin vocat, illud omne quod potentia praditum est: Sic dicit; Qui sedit super*

*Theod. Epif.
Heracl.
Procopius
Gazæus, &
Theodoretus
quæst. super
Genes. q. 40.*

The reason why the Angelicall power placed before Paradise should rather be some horrible vision of beasts. Ezech. i.

How the name *Cherubin* may be taken sometimes in the holy Scripture for a thing indued with might and power though it be no Angell.

An exposition of diuers places concerning the visions of *Ezechiel*.

super Cherubin, dixit, *ut indicet potentem quandam terribilemq; visionem & formam* : perinde ac si quadam animalia in ingressu Paradysi collocasset, quibus inde Adam arceretur. It is not a thing credible (saith this Doctor) that the Cherubins doe signifie in this place any inuisible vertues or Angels, as many doe thinke; for that an inuisible nature had not beene here to any purpose : because it must needs haue beene a sensible object and vision, which could terrifie *Adam* from the returne into Paradise. Therefore that sword was not naturally fiery, but seemed so; neyther the Cherubins were beasts, or other like liuing Creatures, but seemed onely so. After the same manner, as *Ezechiel* also is said to haue seene Cherubins with foure faces, which in no wise is agreeable to an inuisible nature; wherefore hee calleth all those things Cherubins which are indued with might and power. In like manner it is said; *Hee that sitteth upon the Cherubin*, that is, hee that raigneth with might : *And ascenderh upon the Cherubins,*

Cherubins, that is, who commeth with great power. That therefore [*And hee placed the Cherubins,*] was said, to giue vs to vnderstand a most potent and terrible vision, horrible in the aspect and forme: as if he had there placed some terrifying and horrible specters, or beasts, by which *Adam* might be restrained from the returning to Paradise againe.

The sixt, most probable, and common opinion of the Expositers of the sacred Text, is, that this custody is to be vnderstood literally, as it soundeth without any Allegory, as is set downe by *Moses*, to wit, *That at the East-side of the Garden of Eden were set the Cherubins, and the blade of a Sword shaken, to keepe the way of the tree of life.*

So that by the *Cherubins* are signified angels, appointed for the custody of Paradise, and that in the forme and shape of men holding fiery swords in their hands, for the terrifying of man from that place. Whereto some Expositers (on what ground I know not) adde this reason, *Besides that, it may serue for the*

The most probable opinion of the expositers of the foresaid text, of the Cherubin and the fierie sword.

restraint also of Satan himselfe, least entering thither, and getting of the fruit of the tree of life, hee should allure men vnto him, with the promise of long life.

The reason why the Cherubin was placed before Paradise, for the restraint both of man and the Diuell.

When the Scriptures are to be expounded without allegory or Metaphor.

The inconueniences of allegoricall expositions, in particular of *Origenes*, and *Caietan*.

* *Hieronym*, ad *Pammachium*.

The reason of this so literall exposition of the Angelicall custody of Paradise is, because (according to the rule of Saint *Austine*, and diuers other Fathers) *intelligere proprie debemus eas scriptura loca, quae ita sine incommodo poterunt intelligi*: Wee must vnderstand with proprietic, and without Metaphor, or Allegorie, those places of Scripture, which admit that kinde of interpretation: for that the other Allegoricall and figuratiue interpretation, especially taking it as the literall, excluding the other, doth oftentimes bring no small inconueniencies, in the exposition of the sacred Text: as S. * *Hierome* writing to *Pammachius*, noteth of the Allegoricall expositions of *Origenes*, and other moderne doctors of *Caietane*, euen in these, and other such like points of Paradise.

And thus much of the particular custody

custody of this Garden of pleasures; for though other places, the more sanctified they be, (as Churches, and the like, dedicated onely to the service of God) the more no doubt, they are frequented and protected of Angels: yet neuerthelesse, because wee reade no such particularitie of them, as wee haue shoven of Paradise, I omit to descend more in particular about the Angelicall custody of them.

The places dedicated to the service of God, are more frequented & particularly protected by the good Angels.

CHAP. XLVII

Of the diuers orders, subordination, and degrees of Angels.

THese degrees, subordination, and distinct Orders of Angels, are so receiued of the Schoole diuines, that they doubt not onely to affirme a superioritie, and subordination in their seuerall and distinct offices and degrees: but also that this proceedeth euen of their nature, as which of it selfe, requireth this kinde of subordi-

The division of the Angels into three Hierarchies, whereof euery one Hierarchie containeth three seuerall orders.

nation. Yea, these orders they assigne to be determinately nine, as a thing both grounded in the holy Scripture, and more plainly in the Fathers: so that in the first Hierarchy of Angels, they constitute three orders, *to wit*, Cherubins, Seraphins, and Thrones: in the second, Dominations, Vertues, and Powers: in the third, last, and lowest, Principalities, Archangels, and Angels.

How the
Scripture
maketh
mention
of the fore-
said orders
of Angels.

Esaias 6.
Ezech. 1.
Coloss. 1.

Ephef. 1.
1 Thes. 4.
Epist. Iud.

The se-
cond rea-
son out of
the autho-
rity of the
Fathers.

The first ground for these distinctions is, because the Scripture maketh mention of all these sorts of Spirits, and consequently, seemeth to approve the foresaid division. Of Seraphins *Esaias*, the sixth Chapter: of Cherubins *Ezechiel* the first: of Thrones the first to the *Colossians*: of Dominations, Vertues, Powers, and Principalities, in the first to the *Ephefians*: of Archangels, 1 *Thessalonians* 4. and in the Epistle of *Iude*, and diuers other places of Scripture.

The second ground of the fore-said doctrine is out of the holy Fathers: for that they also doe seeme expressly

to hold this diuision of three Hierarchies, and nine Orders.

So *Athanasius* proposing this Question, *Quot sunt Ordines, & quot sunt Angelorum essentie?* How many Orders, and how many essences of Angels be they? answereth; *One and the same is their essence, as one and the same also of man:* (that is, in specificall, not in individuall, or numericall essence) but their Orders, according to the great *Divine Dionysius*, are nine: *Angels, Archangels, Principalities, Powers, Potestates, Dominations, the sixe-winged Seraphins, the many-eyed Cherubins, and Thrones.*

Again, the same Doctor in another place declaring another difficultie: *Quod opus super celestium potestatum?* What is the worke of the super-celestiall Powers? answereth, *A neuer interrupted Hymne, a neuer ceasing loue towards the diuine Maiestie: yea, peraduenture, a continuall prayer for our saluation; but because they are called Orders and Souldiers, it remaineth that wee distinguish Order, into order of Teachers,*

Athanas. ad Antiochum Princ. q. 4.

How many orders and Angelical essences according to *Athanasius*.

Athanas. de communis essentia patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti.

What doe the Angels in Heauen.

chers, of permitters, of punishers, of those who gratifie the soules, and remaine with men: and as wee haue knowne a difference of order in the higher Powers, so also there is a difference of degree and science, to wit, the Thrones, the Cherubins, and Seraphins, who continually, and without any mediator, or interpreter, doe learne of God, and those that be higher then the rest, and nearer unto his Maiestie, yea, of whom the inferiour Orders are instructed: and so every degree in their severall Order, of which the Angels be the last of all in dignitie and perfection.

The place aboue alledged by Athanasius, out of Dionysius (if so be that wee haue the true Dionysius, as most of our Schoole men doe aough or suppose, though others of more worth, doe both denie and disproue it) seemeth to be out of the sixth Chapter of Celesti Hierarchia, where hee affirmeth that the diuine word hath diuided the Celestiall and immortall substances into nine Orders, euerie one with their proper and significant names. These are most excellent

John 12:17
Dion de celesti Hierarchia, cap. 6.

excellent Master (meaning as some suppose, Saint Paul, who is supposed to haue beene *Discipulus* his Master) diuided into three thise repeated distinctions, according to the image of the most blessed Trinitie: the first he saith, to be those, who are alwayes assistant before his diuine Maiestie: and hath received by his grace to be adherent vnto him without any mediation of other Spirits: for the most holy Thrones, and many-eyed and winged Orders, to wit, the Cherubins and Seraphins (so called in the Hebrew tongue) are alwayes immediate vnto God. Thus therefore our most glorious Captaine and Maister saith; this ternary distinction, to be one and the first Hierarchy, in all things equal, the most excellent, and neerest vnto the beams of the Highest. The second he maketh to be those who consist of Powers, Dominations, and Vertues. The third and last, which consists of Angels, Archangels and Principalties, who haue the lowest degree in celestiaall functions.

This also seemeth to be the opinion of many other of the Greeke

Others think that here, by the name of Master, is meant not S. Paul but Hieronimus, though S. Paul also is falsely supposed of many to haue beene this bastardly *Discipulus* his Master.

Ignatius E-
pistola ad.
Trebisinos.
Athanasior.
apolog. pro
Christiana.
Irenaeus lib.
2. cap. 14.
Clem. Alex.
ad cap. 5. per
or. Epistola
Petri 2. c. 1.
Hippolytus
orat. de con-
suetudine.
Orig. contra
Celsum lib. 4.
Methodius
serm. de re-
surrectione.
Euseb lib. 4.
de demon-
stratione
Euang. c. 1.
Cyr. Hieros.
cat. 6. c. 11
Basil. hom. 1
Examer. c.
in liturgia.

Fathers, as of Ignatius, Athenagoras, Irenaeus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Hippolytus, Origines, Methodius, Eusebius Casariensis, Cyrillus Hierosolimitanus, Gregorius Nazianz. Basilus, Epiphanius, Gregorius Nissenus, Chrysostome, Cassian, Theodoretus, Sophronius, Damascene, and Euthymius, who vpon the 15. Chapter of Saint Luke, saiths *Quidam eorum esse ordines senserunt, ad Paxabolum centum Oxum attendentes, quidam vero alteram decem Drachmarum Paxabolum assumentes in patrocini-um, decem hos esse dicunt: nouem quidam caelestes, in xto Dionisium Arcopa-gitarum decimum vero terrenum, puta hominem.* Some (saith this Doctor) at- tending onely to the Parable of the hundred Sheepe, haue thought that there are an hundred Orders of An-

Macarius hom. 14. Naz. orat. 14. quae est prima de Theologia, & O- rat in sanctam Baptisma, quae est numero 40. Epiphanius Sermon de laudibus Beatae Virginitatis. Nissenus in Cantica hom. 19. Chrysost. de in- comprehensibili Dei natura, hom. 2. & hom. 11. in Genesim, Hanaudius Epist. ad Lausum praepositum. Cassianus collat. 2. cap. 15. Cyrillus A- lexandrinus libro primo in Genesim. Theodoretus ad cap. 1. Epist. ad Colos. Sophronius in Examen Angelorum. Hieronymus ad cap. 6. Caesilius Hierarchie Diapny.

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Onely *Casarius* in his first Dialogue, is of opinion, that there be but seauen Orders of Angels: *Septem vero sunt ordines, ut scripsit Iudas, Et eximium enumerat Apostolus, quem Cōsequuntur sacri ministri officij diuini, cum alij clamans voce ad Deum.* Seauen be the Angelicall Orders. (saith this Doctor) as *Iudas* writeth, and the chosen Apostle doth number, whom the Ministers of the holy office doe follow, when with a loud voyce they call vnto God; [The Angels, Archangels, Throners, Dominations, Principalties, Powers, and Vertues, doe prayse thee O Lord.] The Greeke Church also thereby in her ancient Service testifying or insinuating, that so many be the angelicall Orders, and no more. To which neuerthelesse diuers, both of the Greeke and Latine Church, adde other twos, prouing it both by their names and diuers offices, that there be as hath beene said,

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In p. 1. d. 1. c. 1.
mon. 1. c. 1.
p. 1. d. 1. c. 1.

-am vult
-am vult
-am vult
-am vult
-am vult
-am vult

ab. 1. d. 1. c. 1.
-am vult
-am vult
-am vult
-am vult
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Dion. de co-
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Hierarchie Dispositio.

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nine

Ezech. 28.
13.

Greg. hom.
34. in euan.
his & Bedes
argument
for the
nine An-
gelicall or-
ders, out of
the nine
precious
stones of
Ezechiel.

Beda lib.
quest. 9.
de Angelis.

nine in all; signified by the nine precious stones wherewith *Lucifer* before his fall, was adorned: *Euery precious stone was thy garment, the Ruby, the Topaze, and the Diamond, the Chrysolite, The Onix, and the Iasper, The Saphyre, the Emerald, the Carbuncle, and Gold:* out of which wordes Saint *Gregory* doth deduce this; *Ecce, nouem dixit nomina lapidum;* Behold, hee told nine names of Stones; certainly because there be nine Orders of Angels, amongst whom hee that was the chiefe, therefore is said to haue bene so adorned; because that being preferred before the rest, he was more excellent then them all.

The Venerable *Bede* doth in like manner also expound this place of the nine precious stones: *Quo numero lapidum ipsi ordines designati sunt Angelorum;* by which number of stones are signified the very Orders of the Angels, with whom the reprobate Angel is said to haue had his garment dedeed withall before his fall.

Finally, this distinction of nine orders

orders (as hath beene insinuated) may seeme very well to be inferred of the diuers and distinct names which the holy Scripture giueth vnto them: for that otherwise as Saint *Hierome* asking this question, why there should be this distinction of names of Angels, Arch-angels, Thrones, Dominations, &c. saith, *Sine causa diuersitas nominum est, & non est diuersitas meritum*: there were no reason of diuersitie of names, if there were no diuersitie of merits. Wherefore (saith he) the Archangell is Archangell in regard of some inferior Angels: yea, the Powers and Dominations haue some vpon whom they may exercise their power. Again in another place *If there be Principalities, Powers, and Vertues, it is necessary that they haue some subiect vnto them, who fearing and seruing them, are confirmed with their fortitude and strength: which distributions of Offices, are not onely in this world, but also are to be in the world to come.* And Now therefore it remaineth onely to shew, how by the fore-said nine names,

*Hier. lib. 2.
aduersus Iovinianum,
cap. 15.
Marke this
Sentence
of S. Hiero-
me.*

*Hierom. ad
cap. 1. epist.
ad Ephas.*

How *Sedulius* and others doe inferre the nine Angelicall orders out of nine distinct names of Angels.

The interpretation of the names and offices of the Angels according to *Sedulius*, *Dionysius*, *Gregory* the great, and almost all the Schoole Divines, with *Aquinas*.

names, may be inferred nine distinct Orders and offices. To which *Sedulius* thus answereth: *because* (saith hee) *those be Angels*, or haue in particular appropriate vnto them the name of Angels, *who reueale vnto vs matters of least moment; Archangels, who of greatest; Vertues, by whom signes and miracles be wrought; Powers, against the wicked Spirits, by whose power they are restrained from tempting of men, as much as otherwise they would; Principalities, who are president euen over the good Spirits also; Dominations be those, who ascend euen aboue the Principalities and Powers, to whom the rest of the troupes are subiect and obedient; the Thrones be those, who are so replenished with the Deitie, that God himselfe sitting in them, doth exercise his iudgements; the Cherubins also are the plentitude of science, who the more perfectly they view the diuine essence, the more perfect is their science; finally, the Seraphims, that is, the ardent and inflamed Spirits; the nearer they see stand brie God, the more ardently they loue his di-*
uine

nine Maieslie : betweene whom and them there is no other more immediate Spirit.

Out of which wordes, which are also in effect of diuers other ancient doctors, in particular of *Sophronius*, *Gregory the great*, and *Rabanus Maurus*, supposing that they are grounded in the Scriptures before alledged, we may frame this argument for the fore-said distinction of nine celestially Orders of Angels.

Where the names be appropriate vnto distinct offices and orders, the orders, degrees and offices must be according to the multitude of the names, collected out of Scripture, and Fathers: wherefore seeing the Angelicall names so collected & appropriated, be nine; consequently the number of the Angelicall orders must needs be nine also. Yea, hereupon it seemeth not improbable to many, that they haue this distinction, subordination & degrees, not onely by the true designement of almighty God, and by his diuine grace, by which they obtained their supernaturall felicitie, but that these degrees and

*Greg. Mag.
hom. 34 in
Euang.
Rab. Maur.
lib. 1. de
natura. c. 5.
Sophron. in
encomio an-
g. lorum.
Sedulius ad
cap. 1. ad
Ephesus.*

The reason of the fore-said deduction of the nine Angelicall Orders.

Baronius & Casimirus de Angelis hold some kinde of order amongst the angels, but how that is, they dare not assigne particularly. See this of *Dionysius* proved largely by *D. Reynolds* in his conference with *Hart*, cap. 8. sect. 2. And concerning him and *Athanasius* also, see *Six. Senenf. Bib. sanct. lib. 4. verbo Athanasius.*

and orders are grounded in the superioritie and exigencie of their nature; and the rather, because they haue receiued (as many Schoole diuines hold) the plenitude of their grace, according to the naturall perfection they had allotted them from God, as Author of Nature.

Neuerthelesse, these authorities of Fathers, and deductions out of holy Writ, are not so forcible, as to ouer-
sway the contrary opinion of many other learned diuines, who though they hold some kinde of order and subordination amongst the Angels (which onely point the fore-said authorities, besides those that be grounded in fallely supposed and counterfeited *Dionysius* and *Athanasius*, doe pretend) yet are they not so bold as to assigne in particular nine degrees and orders: for that to asseme a thing so remote from our vnderstanding, were necessary eyther some euident reason, or more firme authority then can truely be alledged for so determinate a number.

Wherefore my resolution in this matter,

matter, shall be that of *Damascene*: de *essentia Angelorum*, &c. As concerning the essence of the Angels, whether they be equall or no; *haud quamquam compertum habemus*; we haue no certaine ground for it, he onely knoweth it, who created them all: but that they differ in regard of their splendor and order it is certaine: and this whether their places be assigned them, according to their splendor, or on the contrary side, they participate their glory, according to their place and degree. So that as Saint *Austine* constantly pronounceth; *Esse Sedes, Dominationes, Principatus*; &c. *firmissime credo, & differre inter se aliquo modo indubitata fide teneo: sed quodammodo sunt, & quomodo differant, nescio; neque ea sane ignorantia periclitari me puto*: I doe firmly beleue that there be Seates, Powers, and Principalities, &c. yea, I hold with vndoubted Faith, that they differ in some sort, but how I know not, neyther doe I thinke, that by such ignorance I incurre any danger.

Neyther

Orthodoxa fidei lib. 2. c. 3.
The first
assertion
out of *Damascene*.

The second
Assertion out
of *S. Austine* lib. contra
Priscilianistas, &
Oriemistas
ad *Orosium*,
cap. 10.

The dis-
proofe of
the argu-
ment of
the diuers
names of
Angels, be
cause by
the like
reason we
should in-
ferre mul-
tiplicitie in
our Savi-
our, by the
like multi-
plicitie of
names.

Neyther doe the deductions out of
the diuers & distinct angelicall names
proue the fore said distinctions, or
nine orders, vnlesse we will in like man-
ner admit the like in our blessed Sau-
our, by reason of his seuerall names; *Esay*
the 9. Chapter, ver. 6. where it was pro-
phetied of him, *that he should be called by*
name, Wonderfull, Counsellor, the Mighty
God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince
of Peace. Not that these names should
inferre distinctions of persons, but one-
ly the distinction of Office, and Attri-
butes of one and the same person;
much lesse distinction of degrees, kinds
or *species*, as many Schoole-Diuines
would haue euery one of the Angels
to be distinct from another, not onely
in number, and degree of office, but
also in *species* or kinde, as a Beare, a
Horse, a Lyon, a Man, and other the
like liuing Creatures, who though all
of them be *animalia*, or *uiuentia sensi-*
bilia, endued with life and senses; yet
most differently, for that euery one of
those kindes hath his peculiar essence
and proprieties, whereby they be di-
stinguished

stinguished; the Horse, from the Lyon; the Lyon, from the Beare; the Beare, from the Vnicorne, and all from man; as who hath a reasonable soule and discourse, which no other of these inferiour creatures doe participate. In like manner (say these Doctores) the Angels are different amongst themselves, according to their severall proprieties and essences: for if wee inferre the distinction of the Lyon, horse, man, and other living Creatures, not immediately by their essences; for that wee cannot know or penetrate them so perfectly by themselves immediately, as by their proprieties; so likewise it seemeth, that though we know not the Angelicall essences; yet by their proprieties wee should also inferre the like difference: for as it is manifest out of *Gregorie, Cassian, Damascene, Sophronius, Sedulius*, and other Fathers grounded in the holy Scriptures, the Seraphins haue their particular proprieties agreeing vnto them, which in no wise agree to any other Angell, as they doe particularly to them, that is, a parti-

The opinion of those who hold every Angell to be distinct in species, or kind from another, as is a Lyon from an Vnicorne, or both from man.

*Greg. Mag.
Cassianus,
Sagittarius,
Sedulius, &
Damascenus,
supra citati.*

The severall offices of the first Angelicall orders, according to the coniectures or opinions of diuers Doctors.

cular inflamed loue and charitie towards their Creator; by which they inflame other inferiour Spirits in the like loue, though not so agreeing to them as to the Seraphins. The Cherubins in like manner, are differing from all other Spirits, by a most excellent knowledge they haue of all celestiall and diuine matters, with which they illuminate other inferiour Angels. The Thrones, in that they are most eminent and high Seates, are so teamed of the vertue they are endued withall, by which they are most remote from all terrene and base affects of sin, and made particularly capable of the diuine beames and illustrations, with a particular affect, to worke the like capacitie in other Angels inferiour vnto them.

The severall proprieties of the Angels of the second hierarchy.

Moreouer (say these Doctors) the proprieties of the second Hierarchie, doe no lesse insinuate their essentiall difference, at least way from all those that be not of the same order; because the Dominations be those, who haue as their particular proprietie, to be freed

freed from all seruile affect; yea, and to order, rectifie, and determine what is most conuenient to be done for the glory of their Creator.

The Vertues are distinguished, in that, *Inconcussa & mascula quadam fortitudine prompti, & expediti sint, ad diuinum obsequium*: Because they are ready to execute the diuine will, with a particularly prompt, valerous, and vndaunted fortitude: as also in like manner, the Powers, because (as Gregory saith) *they haue particularly more then the rest of the blessed Spirits, the subiection of the Diuels, to the end that they doe not tempt man so much as otherwise they would, if they were permitted.*

Lastly, the third Hierarchy seemeth out of the very same Fathers to haue no lesse distinction of proprieties, and consequently of essences, then the precedent; for that all of them haue correspondent vnto their names, seuerall and distinct proprieties for the mediate execution of the diuine Will and Prouidence: in which those who haue

*Dion. supra
cap. 18.*

*Greg. hom.
34. in E-
uang.*

The distinction of the Principalities, Archangels & Angels, which be they who appertain to the third Angelical hierarchy.

the chiefe government, as due vnto their essentiall perfection, are the Principalities; those that haue next place, Archangels; those finally who haue the lowest and last degree in essentiall perfection, the Angels; who haue as their peculiar proprietie and most due vnto them, to be the immediate and most ordinary Messengers betweene God and man. So that it seemeth, we are to inferre such distinction as is betweene a man and a Lyon; not onely out of the nine distinct names of Angelicall Orders, but also by their distinct and seuerall proprieties, so different in the Angels as they be in man, and other liuing creatures.

Yea, hereupon *Aquinas*, *Caietan*, *Capreolus*, *Abulensis*, *Hervaeus*, and many others, are of opinion, that the Angels doe not onely now, as *de facto*, they are already created, differ *specie*

Aquinas
1. p. q. 50.
ar. 4. & lib.
2. contra
Gentes. cap.
93. &
tract. de
ente & es-
sentia. cap. 5.

Caietan. in *summam Thomae superius citatam*, & *quest. peculiari in caput illud quintum de ente & essentia*. *Capreolus* in 2. *dist.* 3. q. 1. *conclus.* 5. *Abulensis* in *Paradoxo* 4. cap. 34. & q. 29. in cap. 21. *Numerorum*. *Hervaeus* in 2. *dist.* 3. q. 2. *Anicetus* lib. 5. *Metap.* cap. 5.

in species, kinde or essence; but also, that euen by the omnipotence and absolute power of God, there cannot be created two Angels agreeing in one and the same specificall essence and proprieties, especially seeing that matter (such as man and other inferiour Creatures are compound of) is the cause of all numericall or particular distinction of particular Creatures: those consequently who haue no such composition of matter, but be immateriall and pure Spirits, such as all Angels be cannot haue any such difference. So *Aristotle* 12. *Metaph.* saith, that all distinction is from the matter or forme of every thing: wherefore seeing the Angels are immateriall, they must of necessitie be distinguished by their formes, which alwayes is more difference then is betweene man and man, and as much as is betweene a man and a Lyon: consequently the Angels must alwayes haue this difference one from another, as most perfect, and therefore most conuenient for the most perfect creatures, such as the Angels be.

*Arist. lib. 3.
metaph. 11.*

The argument of those who hold specificall distinction of every particular Angel, from another, yea, that they cannot agree in one species or kinde,

The common and most probable opinion about the distinction and differences of Angels.

Alb. & Alex. supra. Molina, Valentia, Summel, & alij in A. quinquatenu supra.

Atlian. q. 4. ad Ant. oct.

Neuerthelesse, the common and most probable opinion of the Schoole Diuines, now is; that (at least) it is not impossible that there be created many Angels agreeing in one and the same *Species* or essence, as *Abulensis*, *Albertus Magnus*, *Bonaventure*, *Marsilius*, *Gabriel*, *Gaudauensis*, *Mediasilla*, *Durandus*, *Argentinus*, and *Ferrara*, do hold; so that those contradictions alledged, doe not vrge any whit. For why may not a thing be as well distinct in number, and in his particular beeing, from any other thing, by his forme or other whatsoeuer particular essence, as by his matter? certainly no euident contradiction can be assigned in this, no nor improbable Philosophy. Wherefore *Albertus Magnus*, *Alexander*, *Valentia*, *Molina*, and the common of the Schooles doe hold, that euen *de facto*, now Angels be so created many of one and the same nature, no more distinct one from another, then one man from another: which also is the expresse opinion as concerning them all, of *Atthanasius*, or of him rather, whose that worke

worke is, of the Questions *ad Antiochum*, in these wordes, *Vna & eadem est essentia Angelorum sicut una tantum est essentia hominum*: one and the same is the essence of the Angels, as is one and the same also of man: which whether it be so or no, it is, as the Spaniard saith, *Pimar quereres*, a matter altogether vncertaine: for whether we endeavour to search out this by their perfection or imperfection (as some have endeououred with very weake grounds out of naturall Philosophy) nothing can be sufficiently determined: for seeing that nothing eyther is, or possibly can be so perfect, as the three persons of the most blessed Trinitie, and yet they haue no essentiall distinction, no none at all in their essence; neyther any thing is more imperfect of all substances created, then the matter, of which all these inferiour creatures be compound, or doe partly consist; neyther yet is there such essentiall or specificall distinction in one matter from another. So that whether wee attend perfection or imperfection in the An-

X 4

gels,

Whether we consider the angelicall perfection, or any other proprietie whatsoever of them, nothing can be inferred as certaine, about their specificall distinction, but onely about the possibilitie of it.

Marke the
modesty of
this Do-
ctor of do-
ctors in
matters
which o-
thers so
easily de-
termine:
but with-
out doubt,
here the
ignorance
of this Fa-
ther is to
be prefer-
red before
the science
of the
Schooles.

gels, which can be none in the blessed, nor in the naturall substance of the accursed, nothing can be inferred of their distinction.

I therefore lastly resolute with Saint *Austine*, who in his *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*, is not ashamed rather to confesse with Christian humilitie his ignorance in these so high and vncertaine points, then with vnauised boldnesse, or peraduenture temeritie, attempt the declaration or vnderstanding of those things, for which there is neither reuelation of Scripture, definition of any generall Councell, nor sufficient principles in naturall Philosophy, or humane capacitie: *Quomodo enim* (saith Saint *Austine*) *se habeat beatissima illa, & superna societas, quae ibi sunt differentiae personarum, ut cum omnes tanquam generali nomine, Angeli nuncupentur, (sicut in Epistola ad Hebraeos legimus) Cui enim Angelorum dixit Deus aliquando, Sede a dextris meis? Hoc quippe modo significauit omnes vniuersaliter Angelos dicti: Sicut tamen & illic Archangeli, & utrum ydem Archangeli*

Archangeli nominentur Virtutes : atq;
ita dictum sit; Laudate eum omnes
Angeli eius, laudate eum omnes Arch-
angeli: & quid inter se distent quatuor
illa vocabula, quibus uniuersam ipsam
cœlestem societatem videtur Apostolus
esse complexus, dicendoy Siue Sedes, si-
ue Dominationes, siue Principatus, si-
ue Potestates, dicant qui possunt, si mo-
do probare possunt quod dicunt, ego me
ista ignorare confiteor. How (saith this
 most learned and holy Father) that that
 heavenly, and thrise-blessed Societie,
 and Quiers of Cœlestiall Spirits, are
 constituted and ordained in Heauen;
 what differences of persons be there?
 that notwithstanding all are tearmed
 by the generall name of Angels, as
 wee reade in the Epistle to the He-
 brewes; yet there be likewise Arch-
 angels, according to that of the
 Psalmist; *Praise him all yee Angels;*
praise him all yee Archangels: vwho
 whether they be all distinct in *series*,
 essence, or kinde, as they be in names:
 and in like manner, of the Thrones,
 Dominations, Principalities, and
 Powers,

*Aug. supra
cimus, ver-
bis proxime
sequentibus.*

Powers, how they be distinguished one from another, let them say that can, if they can proue that they say, *Ego me ista ignorare confiteor, nec tamen me ista ignorantia periclitari puto:* I confesse my ignorance in these distinctions, and manner of subordination and Orders, neyther doe I thinke I incurre any danger by this my ignorance; notwithstanding the bolde, and peraduenture temerarious Assertions of many Schoole-Diuines, in these, and other the like vnreuealed points, in which humane wit, and naturall discourse, are oftentimes but blinde and seducing guides.

that notwithstanding all are returned by the Council of A. 1545, as was made in the 1. bull to the Pope, yet there be many such errors, according to that of the Council: Pope Sixtus the 4. who wrote that all the world should be one, and that all should be in one, and in the manner of the Thrones, Dominions, Principates, and Powers.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Whether all Orders of Angels be sent unto men, as protectors, and helpers in the ministry of their saluation.

A Quinas in his 1. p. q. 112. ar. 2. & 4. is of opinion, that neuer any is sent of the first Hierarchy, that is, (as he diuideth them) the Cherubins, Seraphins, and Thrones; neyther of the Angels of the first order of the second Hierarchy, that is, the Dominations, but that all the missions, and embassages betweene God and man, are out of the inferiour Orders, *to wit*, out of some of the Vertues and Powers; which are those that remained of the second Hierarchy: or out of the three Orders of the third Hierarchy, *to wit*, the Principalities, Archangels, and Angels. Which opinion is onely grounded (as farre as I can finde) on the authority of **Dionisius* and *Gregory* the

Aquin. 1. p.

q. 112. ar. 2.

& 4. cum

ipsum Com-

mentatori-

buz, their

opinion

that neuer

any of the

Cheru-

bins, Se-

raphins, or

Thrones,

are sent as

messengers

betweene

God and

man.

** Dion. lib.*

de carl. Hie-

rare. cap. 7.

& 13.

Greg. hom.

3. 4. in eum.

his opini-

on miscon-

strued by

the school-

men.

The most
secure and
certain opinion
in
Dinitie,
that none
be exempted
from
the mini-
sterie and
mission
vnto the
coopera-
tion of our
saluation.

the great, though followed of many Schoole-Diuines, who misconstruing the one, and coosened by the other, more attending speculation, then to the examining of authorities, were in this, and in many other the like, deceiued.

Wherefore the most secure opinion is, that of all sorts and orders of Angels- (whatsoeuer their difference, degrees, or superioritie be) there may be sent messengers for their good, who are the heyres of saluation. The reason of this may be, for that if this kinde of cooperation vnto our redemption, and other ministeries of the diuine providence in these inferiour Creatures, be not vnbecoming the immediate concurrence of God himselfe, much lesse may it seeme too base for any creature, of what perfection soeuer, to cooperate immediately with the diuine providence, in the disposition and gouernment of things, especially in those which serue eyther for the futherance and protection in good, or for the repressing and punish-
ing

ing of vice. So wee reade, that euen in the beginning of the world, God hauing caſt man out of Paradife, for his diſobediencie, *Hee ſet at the Eaſtſide of the Garden of Eden the Cherubins, and the blade of a ſword ſhaken, to keepe the way of the Tree of life.* Which Cherubins (as before hath beene proued) were truly Angels, yea, of the ſupream order, as the Schooles doe define.

Gen. 3. 24.

Secondly, wee haue expreſſe reuelation of the foreſaid cooperation of the Seraphins in *Eſaias*, where he ſaith; *Then flew one of the Seraphins vnto me, with an hot coale in his hand, which hee had taken from the Altar with the tonges, and he touched my mouth, and ſaid, Loe, this hath touched thy lips, and thine iniquitie ſhall be taken away, and thy ſinne ſhall be purged:* Which *Dioniſius* above alledged, doth (I confeſſe) interpret to be one of the interiour Angels, therefore called a Seraphin, becauſe of his miniſtery of purging and inflaming exerciſed in that place: but eyther it is certaine that by this name

Eſay. 6. 6.
The cooperation
of the Seraphins.

Chrysost.
 Basilins,
 Cyrillus,
 Hieronimus
 & Procop.
 in c. 6. Isai.
 Amb. lib. 1.
 de Spiritu
 sancto. c. 9.
 Greg. lib. 17
 moral. cap. 7
 & hom. 34.
 in Euang.
 & Aquin.
 1. p. 9. 112.
 & 3. & 4.

Greg. lib. 3.
 mor. cap. 3.

name was meant one of the supream order, or there is no place at all to proue that there be any such distinction of a Seraphicall order: besides that, we haue the current of the Expositors of this place, and in particular *Chrysostome*, *Basil*, *Cyri*, *Hierome*, *Procopius*, and *Ambrose*, who so vnderstand it.

Wherefore if wee will admit the opinion of *Gregory*, and *Aquinas*, who diuide the Angels, in *assistentes*, & *ministrantes*, into those Angels that assist, and those that be ministers; I would rather say, that those are to be called assistants, which haue that dignitie and præminence before the rest, and so are not ordinarily sent, though sometimes they be in matters of greatest moment; but yet not ceasing therefore from their office of assistance: for seeing that they doe enioy Gods presence and sight in euery place, they may easily be conceiued to execute that their peculiar office in euery place. *Angeli enim mittuntur, & assistunt* (saith *Gregory*) The Angels are ioyntly sent and assist; *quia per hoc quod circumscripti sunt,*

sunt, exeunt : & per hoc quod intus quoq; sunt, nunquam recedunt : & faciem ergo Patris semper vident, & tamen ad nos veniunt : The Angels albeit they are sent, yet also they perpetually assist in the presence of almighty God; for in that they are circumscribed, and haue definite, or determinate places, they goe out, and so are vnderstood to be sent : but in that they also are alwayes in Gods presence, they neuer depart; so that both they see the face of the Father continually, and yet often come vnto vs, to aide, assist, illuminate, and stirre vs vp to all good and vertue.

But that which most vrgeth for the mission of the highest order of Angels, and that none, of what excellencie soeuer, eyther of nature or grace, should be exempted from the fore-said ministry of the Sons of God, for their protection and saluation, is that of the first Chapter of the Epistle to the *Hebrewes*, where Saint *Paul* demonstrating vnto vs the excellencie of our Saviour CHRIST, concludeth with this question,

How though the Angels be sent vnto vs as Messengers, yet neuertheless they cease not to be assistant in the presence of God.

A most firme ground to proue that no angels be exempt from the ministry of our saluation.

question, as a virtuall affirmatiue answer about the ministration of all Angels; *Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for their sakes that shall be heyres of saluation?* If all (as the Apostle here affirmeth) then none certainly, of what degree soeuer, are exempted; but at least way, some of euery Order are sent, and destined for this ministry of our saluation, or cooperation vnto it.

Why the ministry of our saluation may not be thought too base an office for so glorious a creature as an Angell is, man being so inferiour vnto him.

For if the eternall Word, and onely Sonne of the lining God, equall in Maiestie, Wisedome, Power, and Glory, vnto his omnipotent Father, *who thought it no robberie to be equall with God*, did not disdain the ministry of our Redemption; yea, euen to buy our glory with his ignominie; the cure of our soules, with the wounds of his most precious Body; our Life and Resurrection, with his Death, Buriall, and Passion: how can this ministry of cooperation vnto our saluation, be thought too base for the most glorious and supream Angels? seeing (I say) hee deemed it not so, in regard of

of his owne Person and Maiestie, who is Lord, King, and Creator of all that infinite and glorious company of Angels.

Whereupon *Gregory* the great alledged (though not with sufficient ground) for the contrary opinion, considering that the misterie of the Incarnation, and Hypostaticall vnion betweene the second Person of the blessed Trinitie, and our nature was the most diuine of all Mysteries, iudged therefore, that the most glorious and supream of all the Angels had beene employed in the embassage, for the contracting of that sacred match betweene the blessed Virgin, and the heauenly Father, as Father; the holy Ghost, as Ouer-shadower; and the eternall Wisedome of the living God, as incarnate in her most pure, virginall, and alwayes immaculate body; *ad hoc ministerium summum Angelum venire dignum fuerat, qui summum omnium nuntiabat;* It was conuenient (saith *Gregory*) that to this supream Myserie of mysteries, the supream of all the Angels

Greg. hom.
34. in euang.

Y

should

Whether
the Angell
Gabriel be
the chiefe
of the An-
gels.

should be destinated, who should annunciate the Incarnation of the supreme Lord of all: or at least way, if all those of the highest order be equall in glory and dignitie, as many Diuines doe hold, then *Gabriel*, who was sent with this so glorious an Embassage, must consequently, if due proportion be kept as well in supernaturall as in naturall things, be (according to the opinion of Saint *Gregory*) one of the highest Order, and supreme both in naturall and supernaturall graces and prerogatiues: so that for the opinion of S. *Gregory* wee see it nothing opposite, but rather altogether for vs.

Sophronius
ad *Sergium*
Patriarchi-
am *Constant.*
Agatho ad
Constant. &
Heracl. Aug.
Damas. lib.
de fide or-
thod. 1. c. 12.
& lib. 2.
c. 18.
Euthymius.
in *Panoplia*
part. 1. tit. 2.

And as for *Dionysius* his authoritie alledged also against vs, it is of none, or of lesse moment: for albeit that the Author of the Worke of the *Cælestiall Hierarchie*, was thought and esteemed as the Disciple of S. *Paul*, by *Sophronius*, *Agatho*, *Damascene*, and *Euthymius*; yea, though for the same also *Origines* be cited: yet certaine it is, that that *Origines* is a counterfeit, and the rest were manifestly deceived. The first,
because

because that supposed *Origines* maketh mention of the Arrians and Manichæes, vvhose pestiferous Errours sprung vp long after the time of the true *Origenes*. The last also, because these workes, fathered vpon *Dionysius*, the Disciple of *Paul*, were (as may be easily seene by the things they treat of) broached long after the Martyrdom of the true *Dionysius*, in whose time there was no such Churches, solemne Seruice, Monkes, and the like, as this forged Worke, vnworthy that glorious Martyr, mentioneth: for though true it is, that *Philo* who flourished in that Primatiue age of the Apostles, maketh mention of some religious persons, or a kinde of Monks; yet these were the Iewish Essens, and not of any religious order of Christians.

A counterfeit *Origines* about alledged.

Why the workes of *Dionys*^s are thought to be falsely fathered.

CHAP. XLIX.

What was the first sinne of the Angels; and first, as touching carnall concupiscence.

A strange
tenent of
many
graue an-
cient Wri-
ters about
the Angels
sinne.
Genes. 26.

IT hath beene the tenent of many famous and learned men, that the first sinne of the Angels was lust after women: deduced (as they thought sufficiently) out of that of *Genesis*, where it is said; *Then the Sonnes of God*, or, as Saint *Ambrose* readeth, *the Angels of God*; the Hebrew, *Elohim*, *Magnates*, or *Potentates*, the powerfull Princes, Iudges, or Gods, saw the daughters of men that they were faire, they tooke them wiues of all that them liked: for that these Angels or *Genij*, as the Heathens tearmed them, being appointed as protectors and guards of all mankinde, they fell into a base, and vncleane affection and lust after them.

So

So Saint *Iustinus* Martyr affirmeth constantly, that *Deus eorum quæ sub Cælo sunt, curam commisit* designatis ad hanc functionem Angelis; qui ab officio decedentes, victiq; feminarum amore, susceperunt ex eis progeniem, quam vulgus vocat Genios : God committed the care of these inferiour things vnto the Angelicall custody, who forsaking their charge, ouer-come with the loue of women, begot of them a certaine progenie, which commonly are called Genij.

Clemens Alexandrinus : Moreouer, the Angels overcome with lust, descended hither from Heauen, to satisfie their lust vpon the daughters of men.

Seuerus Sulpitius : The Angels to whom the Heauens were habitation, delighted with the beautie of women, desired unlawfull desires:

Ambrose: Chastitie maketh Angels; who kept it, is an Angell; who lost it, a Diuell. And for this cause it seemeth not improbable to *Tertullian*, that therefore women ought to be couered, especially Virgins (with whom hee was

Iustinus in Apologia pro Christianis prima.

From whence came the progenie of the Genij.

Clem. Alex. from lib. 3.

Seuerus in principio prioris libri de sacra Historia. Amb. lib. 1. de viro. Tertullian.

of opinion, that the Angels had sinned) least they should be a temptation vnto the blessed Angels: as though this did not repugne both vnto their nature and grace: to nature, because it is spirituall: to grace, for that they are confirmed in it, partly by the extrinsecall assistance and prouidence of the Almighty, as is conuenient for so glorious an estate, as theirs is; partly also by the blessed fruition of the diuine essence, which contayning all good, beauty, and delight in it, in a more perfect and excellent manner, euen in the proposition and manifestation of it selfe to the Angelicall vnderstanding, then the things themselves doe, or can, doth so allure and withdraw them with a sweet kinde of compulsion (if so I may tearme it) or necessitie, that in no wise they can doe any thing contrary to the Will of God, or incompatible with so rauishing an obiekt and vision as is the beautie of the diuine Maiestie and his glorious sight. How therefore was that possible which *Tertullian* did imagine
of

of the beauty of women, that *vsq; ad Cælum scandala eiaculata sit*; that it had beene a ruine, or scandall euen vnto the very Heauens, or Angelicall powers? and therefore that the Apostle had commanded the women to be couered, *because of the Angels*; least assisting them in the Church (as they doe most of all at our prayers) they should be occasion of their ruine; as though pure Spirits could be allured with corporall beauty, or that any corporall couer or veyle could be sufficient to keepe any thing from the sight of a Spirit, who so perfectly penetra- teth all these inferiour objects, as many doe holde hee doth comprehend them, that is, *Cognoscit quantum cognoscibilia sunt*, as the Philosophers define, *doth know them as much as they can be knowne*; though not with so perfect a knowledge as is the diuine, which is infinite, but with as much as is commensurable to the perfection of the object, or the complete view of the essence, and all the necessary proprieties of it: how therefore could hee who

Tertull. quo supra, his opinion why the Apostle commanded women to be couered in the church. 1 Cor. 11.

The refutation of Tertullians opinion.

The diuine
essence is
as a volunt-
ary glasse
vnto the
blessed.

Iustinus vs
supra.

was rapt vp euen vnto the third, or
highest Heauen, and there (as many
doe interpret) *saw euen in the diuine
essence*, as in a voluntary glasse, those
supernaturall objects, which is not law-
full (as hee himselfe saith of himselfe)
for a man to vtter; how could such a
one (I say) be ignorant of these infe-
riour objects; yea, ground his doctrine
vpon so weake and false supposition,
contrary euen to naturall reason, and
true Philosophy? This therefore see-
meth rather a Poeticall fiction, as *Euse-
bius* and *Cyrl* note, then to haue any
firme ground, either in reason or Scrip-
ture: *Quapropter* (saith *Iustine* aboue
alledged) *Poeta ac Fabulatores, nesci-
entes Angelos, & ex his prognatos Ge-
nios rem habuisse cum masculis & fami-
nis, ciuitates, gentesq; a se memoratos
retulerunt ad ipsum Iouem, eiusq; ac
fratrum eius Neptuni, ditisq; filios, &
horum progeniem*; Whereupon (saith
this Doctor) vpon the fore said place
of *Genesis*, not rightly vnderstood, the
Poets, and Inuenters of Fables, not
knowing the nature of Angels, fained
that

that others were begotten of them called *Geny*, and so deriued the descent of the most famous Cities and Nations from *Iupiter*, *Neptune*, *Pluto*, and their Progenie: which is that which *Julian* the *Apostata* objected against the Christians; to which *Cyrl* in his ninth booke thus answereth, *Verisimile est multos ea sententia turbari, & contemnentes meliora deliciarum amorem eligere, dum considerant quam difficile, & arduum ipsis sit, carnalibus voluptatibus omnino reluctari: & credunt etiam ipsos Angelos sanctos, obscenas affectiones sequi, per quam noxium enim est audire, & credere ipsos sanctos Angelos, corporum formositatibus affici, & oblectari tam profanis & absurdis voluptatibus.* It is not vnlike (saith *Cyrl*) that many be troubled with that opinion, who contemning better things, haue chosen those filthy delights; and beleue that euen the holy Angels doe seeke after those beastly affections. But this hee reiecteth, as an opinion altogether damnable, and occasion, not onely of errour in Faith, but of
other

*Cyrl. lib. 9
aduers. Iul.
in principio.*

Cassian re-
futation of
the foresaid
opinion.

other most abhominable lapses into sinne.

Which *Cassian* also confuteth thus, *Nulla modo credendum est, spirituales naturas misceri cum feminis carnaliter posse*: It is not in any wise to be beleueed, that the Angels can haue carnall accessse vnto women, which if at any time it could possibly haue beene, how chanceth it that now the same doth not happen, and that very often, seeing that without all question, they are much delighted with these abominations, and would rather, if it were possible, execute them by themselves immediately, then by men?

What
might be
probably
answered
to *Cassian*'s
obiection.

But to this might be answered, that albeit their power is such, and their wickednesse no lesse; yea, though they be sometimes permitted in this sort of abomination; yet that it doth happen very seldome, by the particular prouidence of almightie God, and assistance of other good Angels, the protectors of mankind: for that the power of Diuels being so great, as, if they were left to their naturall force and de-
praued

praued will, none could resist them : therefore it seemeth to belong vnto the prouidence of him who is supreme gouernour, not to permit vs to be tempted aboue our forces, especially in these kinde of temptations, by which mans nature is so easily carryed away, or may by the vehemencie and presence of the object, be absorpt; in which though the lesse the libertie is, the lesse also is the sinne or imputation thereof; yet for the fore-said reason it seemeth more conformable to the disposition and prouidence of God, who *pertingens a fine vsq; ad finem fortiter disponit omnia suauiter*, not to permit often such abominations.

Neyther doth the authoritie of *Ambrose* vrge any whit in this point : for though as hee saith, *Castitas Angelos facit, qui eam seruabit, Angelus est, qui perdidit, Diabolus*; Chastitie made Angels; hee that will keepe it, shall be an Angell; hee that hath lost it a Diuell : for that this may be vnderstood of a kinde of spirituall luxurie, as some Schoole-diuiues do hold to haue beene the.

*Amb. lib. 1.
de virgin.*

*Scot. 2. sent.
dist. 6. q. 2.
art. 3.*

Quo supra.

the first sinne of the Angels: so that for this kinde of intemperance, it be true which the same Doctor saith, *Angelos propter intemperantiam suam in seculum decidiſſe à Cælo*; that the Angels for this their spirituall intemperance, or not keeping themselves within their naturall limits, and dignitie allotted them, fell from heauen; *whither the Virgins for their continency doe ascend*: for that virginitie is an imitation of the angelicall nature and puritie.

But whether this was the opinion of *Ambrose* or no, as it was of *Tertullian*, *Iustine*, *Senerus Sulpitius*, *Lactantius*, and many others both Greeke and Latine Authors, certaine it is that it hath no ground or probabilitie, because this could in no wise be the first sinne of the Angels: for admitted it were so, that they fell into this abomination, this was not vntill almost a thousand yeeres after the creation of the world. But it is most certaine out of *Iohn* the 8. Chapter, *Wisedome* the first, and *Romanes* 8. that there were other sinnes, both of Angels and men before this;

Scriptura

*Sener. Sulp.
in exordio
prioru libri
de sac. Hist.
Lactantius
lib. 2. diuin.
Instit. c. 15.
Iustinus &
Tertul. quo
supra.*

Scriptura enim (saith Saint Chrysostome) nos docet, antequam formaretur Adam, a sua dignitate excidisse Diabolum. Ait enim quidam sapiens inuidia Diaboli mortem intrasse in mundum; at si non ante factum hominem cecidit, quando in tanta dignitate manens inuidit homini? neq; enim consentaneum est, Angelum incorporeum, & in tanta dignitate constitutum inuidisse homini corpus gestanti, sed inuidit, quod ex superna gloria, in extremam ignominiam deiectus fuerat: licet igitur incorporeus esset, videns tamen hominem, tantum in corpore honorem, beneuolentia Conditoris sortitum, inuidia exarsit? & deceptione ad quam Serpentis opera usus est, hominem mortis supplicio fecit obnoxium. Talis enim malitia non potest non grauitate ferre aliorum felicitatem: nam quanta dementia fuerit dicere Angelos esse deiectos, ut cum mulieribus rem haberent, inq; incorporea natura copularentur corporibus? an non audis Dominum dicentem de Angelorum substantia, In Resurrectione neque Matrimonium contrahunt, neque elocantur, sed sunt sicut

Sap. 1.

Marc. 12.

The diuers
translation
of the 2.
Chapter
of *Genes.*
verse 6.

*Cyrl. lib. 9.
aduers. Iul.
Suid. in vo-
cabulo Seth.
Chrys. hom.
22. in Gen.
Aug. lib. de
ciuitat. Dei.
cap. 23.
Theod. q. 47
in Genesim.
Cassian. coll.
8 cap. 11.
Cyrl. lib. 9.
cont. Iulian.
Rupert. lib. 4
in Gen. c. 12.
Aquinas. 1. p.
q. 51. ar. 7. 11.*

sicut Angeli Dei: non enim possibile est incorpoream naturam talem ullo tempore habere concupiscentiam.

Those therefore which *Moses*, according to the Hebrew, calleth *Filij Elohim*; or, as *Aquila* translateth, *Deorum*, of the Gods; or, as *Symmachus*, *Potentum*, of the mightie and powerfull; or, as the *Chalde*, *Magnatum*, of the Potentates; or, which is the same as *Pagninus*, *Principū*, of the Princes, were not Angels, but as hath beene touched before, were rather men, the Sonnes of *Seth*, who for his good and godly life was (as *Ciril* and *Suidas* testifie) called by the name of God: and this is the interpretation of *Chrysostome*, *Austine*, *Theodoretus*, *Cassian*, *Cyrl*, *Rupertus*, and *Aquinas*; *Nimis igitur stupidi & stolidi* (saith *Theodoretus*) *qui eos fuisse Angelos existimarunt, putantes sua intemperantia forsan patrociniū habituros, si Angelos eiusdem criminis reos tenerent. Oportebat autem eos audisse Deum dicentem; Non permanebit spiritus meus in hominibus in æternum, quia carnes sunt: erunt autem dies*

dies illorum centum viginti anni: & inde respicere naturam incorpoream, carnes non habere, neq; Angelos vitam habere tempore definitam, immortales siquidem sunt. Which censure in regard of the Fathers who held the contrary, is too rigorous; though the conclusion and proofes thereof seeme most certaine, as may be most evidently deduced out of the places before alledged.

CHAP. L.

Wherein is proued, that the sinne in which the Angels transgressed, was pride, and examined what kinde of pride it was.

AMongst other very curious Questions which *Theodoretus* vpon *Genesis* propoundeth, one is this:

Quam ob causam è cælo Diabolus decidit? What was the cause why the Diuell (who before was a glorious Angell in all naturall beauty) fell from heauen?

*Theodor. in
Genesij .9.6.*

To

*Theodoretus
quo supra.*

To which hee answereth, *That it was the foolish conceits of some foolish fellowes, that therefore he was throwne from Heauen, because hee would not adore Adam; which in no wise can be, because the diuels fall was before Adams creation. The truth therefore is, that the cause of his fall was pride, as Esaias testifieth; Cogitauit apud semetipsum, supra nubes locabo solium meum, & ero similis altissimo; Hee thought with himselfe, I will place my Throne aboue the clouds, and I will be like vnto the Highest.*

Which opinion of *Theodoretus*, may be confirmed out of diuers places of Scripture, *Iob 41. Eccles. 10. Tob. 4. Esay. 14. Ezech. 28.* For although this of *Esaias* is literally to be vnderstood of the King of Babilon, and the other of *Ezechiel* of the King of Tyre, yet this doth not hinder, but that also they may be vnderstood of the Diuell, as head of all the proud and wicked; according to the exposition of **Hierome, Austine, Ambrose* and *Gregory* the Diuine.

Secondly,

*Iob. 41.
Eccles. 10.
Tob. 4.
Esay 14.
Ezech. 28.
* Hierom in
cap. 28. E-
zech.
Aug. lib. 11
super Gen.
ad literam.
c. 24 & 25.
Amb. ser. 3.
in Psal. 118
Greg. Naz.
orat. prima
de pace.*

Secondly, this pride of the Angels is proved out of the new Testament, where our blessed Saviour, for to re-
 presse this so predominant a passion, even in his Apostles, saith, *Luke 10. 18. I saw Satan, like a lightning, fall downe from Heauen.* And Saint Paul the first Epistle to *Timothy*, the third Chap according to the vulgar Translation; *Ne elatus in superbiam incidat in iudicium, & laqueum Diaboli;* Least puffed vp in pride, he fall into iudgement, and snare of the Diuell: where the Apostle also for to terrifie vs, bringeth the example of the Diuell, who falling into this snare of sinne, was so grievously punished for his pride: and this is the common opinion, and currant of almost all the Fathers both Greeke and Latine; in particular of **Athanasius, Gregory Naz. Gregory* the great, *Fulgentius, Hierome, Saint Augustine, and Chrysostome*, who in the third Homilie vpon these wordes of *Esayas, Vidi Dominum per superbiam (inquit) factum esse Diabolum, qui antea Diabolus non erat;* that by pride hee became

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Luk. 10. 18

* *Athanas.*
lib. de virg.
& mediis.
in initio.
Greg. Naz.
Orat. primo
de pace.
Greg. Mag.
lib. 34. mor.
cap. 13. &
14.
Fuly. lib. 10.
ad African.
circum d. 2.
Hier. in cap.
14. Elix.
Aug. lib. 11
de ciuit. dei
cap. 13. &
lib. 12. c. 6.

a diuell, who before was no diuell, but rather a very glorious Angell, not in the supernaturall glory of his supernaturall end, and felicitie of the perfect sight of Almighty God; but in regard of many other most perfect ornaments of nature and grace.

As touching the second point, what kinde of pride it was in which the Angels fell.

Aug. in Ioh. tract. 49.

Cyr. in dial. de aduat. in spiritu,

and Prosper :

their opi-

nion about

the parti-

cular ob-

ject of the

Angelicall

pride.

Saint *Austine* answereth that it was, *Quod ausus sit presumere diuinitatem ut qui ceteros vidit inferiores, seipsum praeferret ut Deum*; Because hee assumed vnto himselfe Deitie, as who seeing the rest of the Angels inferiour vnto him, hee exalted himselfe as God.

Saint *Cyril* also giueth the like reason; *Satanas (inquens) qui è Caelorum summis tanquam fulgur precipitatus est, videtur admodum pueriliter se gessisse, quod voluerit esse Deus, imaginando ea quae super naturam suam sunt, sua esse*: Satan, who like vnto a lightning, was cast downe from heauen, seemeth to haue behaued himselfe very childishly, affecting

affecting Deitie and imagining those things to be his, which were about his nature. Which is the very same which *Prosper* meaneth when hee saith, *noluisse permanere quod factus est*, that hee would not be content to remaine as he was created: or which *Nazianzene*, they extolled themselves about their dignitie, about the clouds of the word, to wit, about the eternall Sonne of God, incarnate in the clouds of our humanitie.

Out of which authorities, and many others the like, grounded in the places of holy Scripture alledged in the Chapter precedent, I inferre, that the pride of the Angels consisted, in that they desired some similitude with almightie God, as *Hierome* and *Gregory* doe most perspicuously deduce; neverthelesse it seemeth certaine that they did not desire or affect such a similitude, as is in equalitie, but rather with a certaine analogicall proportion: the reason is, because if it should be admitted, that their desire was equalitie with God in essence, power, and the rest of the infinite attributes of

Why the
Angels sin
could not
consist in
desiring e-
qualitie in
essence &
other di-
uine attri-
butes with
God.

God, consequently there must be granted in them two speculative errors of vnderstanding, which to many diuines seeme impossible: the first, that they should thinke it absolutely possible for them to haue such an equalitie with God: for that none can desire absolutely to obtaine any thing which hee is perswaded to be altogether impossible for him to attaine vnto: wherefore seeing it was altogether impossible for any to be equall with almightie God in his diuine attributes; yea, moreouer this being euident vnto the Angels, it was not possible for any Angell to haue any such desire, as to be equall in Deitie with Almighty God.

The second error, which some Diuines thinke no lesse absurd to be granted in the vnderstanding of an Angell, is, that hee should iudge besitting or agreeable vnto him that which in no wise could be, vnlesse hee ceased to be an Angel; for that if the Angels should be equall in deitie vnto God, they must needes be changed in nature,

But to speake ingeniously, I finde
in

in these two reasons no such evidence, as the Schoole-Diuines doe affirme to be, but onely more probabilitie, that they neyther had, nor could haue any such affectation or desire of Deitie, except by Hypostaticall vnion betweene their nature and the person of GOD. Which opinion seemeth most probable vnto *Ambrosius Catharinus*, and *Vagnerius*; yea, Saint *Bernard* inclineth vnto it: neyther hath this opinion any absurditie, though litle authoritie.

The most grounded and authorized opinion of all in this matter, is of *Bona-venture*, *Halensis*, *Parisiensis*, *Gregory* the great, and *S. Austine*, that the particular pride of the Angels consisted, in that they being exalted with the contemplation of their beaurie and perfection, they would be exempt from all seruice, command, and subiection vnto their Creator. So that as hee is subiect to none, they desired also to be, not in the independence of their conseruation and beeing, for that they knew evidently to be vnpossible, but in their actuall seruice and obedience; which

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is

Amb. Cath.
in libello de
gloria An-
gelorum bo-
morum, cy-
losu malo-
rum.

Bern. in suis
instit. cap. 3.
versu 15.

Bern. ser. 17
in Cantica.

The most
grounded
opinion a-
bout the
Angels
pride.

Rom. 2. d. 9.

et. 1. q. 2.

Hal. in sum-

ma parte 2.

q. 109.

membra 2.

Crat. Paris.

lib. 2. de re-

minero. p. 1.

c. 109.

Aug. super

Psalm. 70. in

illius versu;

Deus quis

similis tui?

is an excellency onely due vnto him who is supream Governour of all things: wherefore to affect this was to affect to be as God himselfe, not in essence, but in the fore-said absolute independence of his diuine Maiesty: So Saint *Austine*; *Si quis (inquit) peruersè voluerit imitari Deum, ut quomodo Deus non habet, à quo formetur, non habet à quo regatur, sic ipse velis sua potestate uti; ut quomodo Deus nullo formante, nullo regente, viuat, quid restat, nisi ut in deterius mutatus deficiat? Hoc Diabolus fecit; imitari Deum voluit, sed peruersè, non esse sub illius potestate, sed habere contra illum potestatem.* And againe, disputing of those wordes, *Iohannis 8. cap. Illa homicida erat ab initio,* hee inferreth thus of the diuell: *Hee refused to be subiect vnto his Creator, by his owne priuate authority was puffed up with pride; being in this a deceiuer, and deceiued: for that none can escape the subiection of the Almighty, and who by pious subiection would not hold that which truely he was, affected by pride to obtayne that which he was not.*

*Aug. lib. 11
de ciuit. dei.
cap. 13.
Disputans
de illi ver-
bis Iohannis
8. cap.
Ille homi-
cida erat
ab initio.*

Gregory

Gregory the great in the 34. Booke of his Morals, cap. 13. Hee despised to be subiect to his Creator, for so God is above all things that hee is under none: but Leviathan seeing his Highnesse and Maiesty, did puerly affect the right of his liberty, that hee might be above all, and subiect to none; saying, I will ascend above the height of the clouds, and will be like vnto the Highest.

Anselme also in his Booke of the fall of the Diuell, saith of him; Hee would haue beene like vnto God, contrary to the will of God, because he desired to be subiect to none, this being onely proper vnto Almighty God, so to affect any thing with his owne proper will, that hee doe not follow or subiect to any superiour will or power.

To this also may be annexed as not improbable, that which *Casman* saith in his *Angelographia*; & *Bucanus de malis Angelis*, loco 7. that the Angels did resist the veritie of the Gospell, as concerning Christ, God and man, true and onely Sauour of the World: so that by this wee see their pride and

Greg. lib. 34
mor. cap. 13.
in id lob.
41. Non
est pote-
tas in ter-
ra que
compare-
tur ei.

*Casman. &
Bucanus de
Angelis,
quid sit in
veritate non
fuisse An-
gelos.*

enuy both towards God and man, and how they persisted not in the verity of the Gospel, reuealed vnto them, which all, as auerred by the Scriptures, must be verifed in the Angels fall and sinne.

CHAP. LI.

In which are briefly resolved diuers curious questions about the bad Angels.

NOW it remaineth onely to resolute briefly some few doubts of greatest moment about these wicked Spirits, leauing the rest for a more opportune time and place, in which (*Deo dante*) they shall be declared at large.

The first DOUBT.

What number of Angels fell from heauen?

Ans. I answered with *Bucanus* and the common opinion; *Magnus sapiens*, &
panc

*Bucanus de
Angelis.*

panē innumerabilis; that without doubt a great number, and almost innumerable. But how many determinately, we haue no ground to coniecture, onely Saint *Austine*, *quaest. veteris & noui testam. q. 11.* calleth them, *multos*, many; and *Damascene*, *Corruit infinita multitudo Angelorum*; there fell an infinite multitude of Angels: *infinite*, to wit, ynto vs, not in themselves, much lesse ynto Almighty God; yea, neither to themselves.

*Aug. q. vet.
& noui test.
q. 11.
Damasc. lib.
de fide orb.
cap. 4.*

The second D O U B T.

Whether there fell more then remayned or no?

Answ. *Aquinas* and *Valentia*, with many other Schoole-diuiues, answered, that fewer fell then persisted in the grace and fauour of God: and this they pretend to proue out of the *Apocalypse*, where it is said, that *The Dragon drew with him the third part of the Starres*, that is (say they) *Lucifer* drew after him the third part of the Angels in his first combate with *Michael*, and fall from heauen, according

*Aquina. 1. p.
q. 63. ar. 9.
Vbi Val. &
aliq in 2. d. 6
Apoc. 12.*

Apoc. 12.
7.8.9.

The opinions about the time of the battell of Michael with the good Angels, against Lucifer together with the bad.

Greg. hem.
34. in Euan.
Arthas.
Ribera in
Apoc. 12.
Dan. 12.

ding to that of the *Apocalipfe*; And there was a battell in heauen, Michael and his Angels fought against the Dragon, and the Dragon fought and his Angels, but they preuayled not; neither was their place found any more in Heauen: and the Dragon, that old Serpent, was cast out, which deceiueth the world, he was euen cast into the earth, and his Angels were cast out with him.

But whosoever shall well marke the context of this place, shall easily perceiue, that this is to be vnderstood rather of the last fight betweene the good Angels and bad, a little before the day of Iudgement, in the time of Antichrist: and this is the exposition of *Gregory*, *Arthas*, and *Ribera*; and is more manifest by the like Prophecie of *Daniel* the 12. Chap. Wherefore though peraduenture the fore-said prooffe may seeme to some, to haue some probabilitie; yet I thinke the conclusion to be more certaine then the prooffe, which neuertheles is sufficiently deduced out of *Luke* the 8. and confirmed by the common consent of all.

The

The third D O U B T.

How Lucifer drew after him the rest of the Angels, and how the fore-said fight of the Diuell was with the blessed Angels.

Ans. To the first I answer, that it seemeth most probable, that this was only by his example, showing (as is declared in the locution of the Angels) his depraved minde and will: as on the contrary side, *Michael* manifesting his constancie, affect, and minde to persevere in good, vnto his part of Angels, was occasion of their persisting in good, by his good example: so that these two, as it were, armies of Angels, being contrary in manifested affections the one to the other, resisted mutually, and as it is expressed in the *Apocalypse* Chap. 12. spiritually fought together. This is that which *Aquinas*, *Alensis*, *Albertus Magnus*, *Durand*, and other Schoole-Diuines hold, but whether it was so, or by some other expressing of their particular affect, it is as *Durand* well noteth, a thing (or rather the manner of it) vncertaine.

Aquin. 1. p.
q. 63. ar. 2.
Halens. 2. p.
quest. 110.
memb. 3.
q. 6.
Alb. 2. d. 6.
ar. 3.
Duran ibid.
quest. 2.

The

The fourth D O U B T.

Whether Lucifer, who drew the rest of the Angels after him, was the chiefe of the Angels in degree and order?

Ans^w. Saint Austine answereth, that hee was, *quasi princeps multorum, inter quos clarior eras, & cum quorum societate ad impium descendis certamen, videns enim infra se multas spirituales potentias, quippe cum in paradiso dei praestantior esset cognitione mysterij celestis, ipsa elatione inflatus, voluit dici Deus*: Hee was (saith Saint Austine) as it were Prince of many, among which he was the most excellent, with whom he descended into a wicked combat: for seeing vnder him many spirituall powers, and being more excellent in the Paradise of God, puffed vp with pride, hee would haue beene called God. This is the opinion of Saint Austine; yea, *Tertullian, Origenes, Chrysostome, Basil, Bernard, and Aquinas, iudge Lucifer to haue beene the supream Angell of all in order and degree.

The

Aug. quest.
vet. & noui
T. 11.

*Tert. l. 2.
cont. Mar-
cionem ante
medium.

Orig. tract. 9
in Math.
circa finem.

Chrys. hom.
de lapsu ho-
minis. tom. 1

Basil. lib. 4.
contra Eu-
nomiu. circa
medium.

Greg. lib. 32
mor. A 25 &
hom. 35. in
Euangelia.

Bern. ser. 1.
de aduentu,
& Theologi
com. 2. sent.
d. 6.

The fift D O V B T.

Whether the diuels can repent of their sinne, and so be saued?

Answ. Origenes in his first Booke *πῶς ἀρχαί*, saith; *Damones redire ac restitui ad statum beatitudinis possunt*: the diuels can returne and be restored vnto the state of beatitude againe. And a little after; *Opinor vnamquamq; rationalem creaturam posse ab vno in alterum ordinem transire, beatorum scilicet & damnatorum*; I am of opinion (saith Origenes) that both the blessed may be damned, as also the damned blessed.

Neuerthelesse, the contrary is most certaine in Faith, that neyther the blessed can come to damnation, nor the damned to felicitie. *Math. 25. Come yee blessed, &c. and goe yee cursed into euerlasting fire, which is prepared for the Diuell and his Angels, Apoc. 20.* Esay the last Chapter, *Eccles. Chap. 11.* and this is defined as a matter of Faith, by the Councell of Lateran, and so holden of *Austine, Hierome, Gregory, Cas-*
sian

*Aug. lib. 21
de ciuitate. 17
& lib. de
har. har. 43
Hier. in cap.
3. Iona.
Epiph. epist.
ad Iohannē
Hierosol.
Greg. lib. 4.
mor. s. 9.*

Cas. lib. 4.
col. c. 14.
Damas. lib. 2
fidei. cap. 3.
& 4.

sian, Damascene, and all other that write of this point against *Origenes*, whom also *Sotus* and *Mirandula* would excuse; yea, he himselfe doth not seeme to determine any thing as certaine, contrary to the common tenent, but rather to discusse and inquire after the truth, then to define: for so hee saith in the place aboue alledged; *Hac quidem a nobis cum magno metu, & cautela dicuntur, discutientibus magis, ac pertractantibus, quam pro certo, ac definito statuentibus*; these things wee say with feate, rather inquiring the truth, then determining so doubtfull and secret matters.

The sixth D O U B T.

What the Diuels haue lost in their understanding by their fall.

Grilland. in
tract. de sor-
titorijs. q. 6.
Dion. cap. 4.
de diuinis
nominibus.
Aquinas. 1. p.
q. 64. ar. 2.
ubi plurimi
ipsius com-
mentatores.

Ans. It is most true, that which *Grillandus* saith of *Dionysius*, and the Schoole Diuines, that they hold, *Diabolum peccando proprietatem naturae suae Angelicae non amisisse; sed naturalia, in Diabolis adhuc integra, & splendidissima remansisse*; that the diuell by his sinne
lost

lost not the proprietie of his Angeli-
call nature, but that this remaineth
intire, most cleare and bright.

But to this I answered with the same
proportion as in man, by originall sin;
that like as in *Adam* and his posteritie,
though neyther his substance nor vn-
derstanding was taken from him, but
left (as the Diuines explicate the mat-
ter in both) *quoad substantiam*; yet ne-
uerthelesse, that such dispositions, and
obscuritie was added by sinne, as was
in no wise due vnto his nature. So that
I distinguish, in the fore-said proposi-
tion so ordinary, with *Molina*, *Bellar-
mine*, *Sumel*, *Valentia*, *Suarez*, *Salas*,
Lorca, and others, who pronounce
the same with like proportion in man
and the Angels; that as *Casmanus* saith,
*Si intelligatur de substantia mentis An-
gelica, non repugno; si verò de qualitate,
quasi ex peccato nihil illis tenebrarum
accesserit, non assentior*; If it be vnder-
stood of the substance of the Angeli-
call minde, I doe not repugne; but if
of the qualitie, as though no darknesse
were added vnto them by their sinne,

*Casman. de
Angel. p. 2.
cap. 11.*

*Aug. lib. 9.
de ciuitate
Dei cap. 21.*

I doe not assent. And this (for to omit other proofes for a more opportune place) is evidently deduced out of S. *Austine*, who saith, that *Ante peccatum tam isti quam illi, perfecte omnia intelligebant; accessit igitur istis, propter peccatum aliquid tenebrarum, proinde etiam tenebra appellantur, & in tenebris esse dicuntur, caelesti illa luce destituti, & in locum caliginosum precipitati*: Before any sinne committed, as well the good Angels, as those which now are fallen, did perfectly know all things; but darknesse came vnto these for their sinne; and for that they are called by the name of darknesse, and are said to be in darknesse, destitute of the heauenly light, and precipitate into a darke place.

The seauenth **D O U B T.**

What knowledge haue the Diuels left them after their fall; and first, of naturall objects?

Ans. Here wee may distinguish three kindes of knowledges or sciences in the diuels: first, of naturall things: the

Three
kindes of
knowled-
ges to be
distingui-
shed in this
question.

second, of supernaturall speculation onely, without any affect of practise, or working by it any good: the third, a practicall knowledge, with relation and order to worke by it.

As touching the first, of naturall objects, I answer with *Vairus lib. 3. de fascino*, They know without all question, the vertues of the Heavens, of the Stars, of Birds, of Fishes, of Trees, of Hearbes, of Metals, of Stones, of the Element: neither are they ignorant what may profit or hurt a man: and haue perfect science of whatsoever may bring diseases, death, torments, or any other hurt vnto man: yea, of all other naturall and necessary causes of inferiour things, not so perfect as otherwise they should haue had if they had persisted in the grace and fauour of their Creator, and consequently not such as the glorious Angels haue obtained.

For as Saint *Austine* saith; *Dæmones autem non aternas temporum causas, & quodammodo cardinales, in Dei sapientia contemplantur; sed quorundam signorum nobis: occultorum maiori experientia,*

*Vair. lib. 3.
de fascino.*

*Aug. lib. 9.
de ciuit. dei,
cap. 22.*

multo plura quam homines, futura prospiciunt: dispositiones quoque suas aliquando pronunciant: danique, saepe isti, nunquam autem omnino illi (id est, boni Angeli) falluntur. Aliud est enim temporalibus, temporalibus, & mutabilibus mutabilia coniectare, eisque temporalem, & mutabilem modum suae voluntatis & facultatis inferere, quod demonibus certa ratione permissum est: aliud est autem, in aeternis & incommutabilibus legibus, quae in eius sapientia viuunt, mutationes temporum praevidere, deique voluntatem, quae tam clarissima quam potentissima est omnium, spiritus eius participatione cognoscere, quod sanctis Angelis recta discretionis donatum est.

The difference betweene naturall and supernaturall knowledge: or of two kindes of knowledges of supernaturall objects.

The eight D O U B T.

Whether the diuels haue as yet knowledge of any supernaturall objects.

Ans. Here wee may distinguish two kindes of knowledges of supernaturall things: the one proportionate vnto supernaturall grace, and produced by the particular and supernaturall concurse of almighty God: and this

this I absolutely call supernaturall knowledge of supernaturall objects, such as is our supernatural faith, whereby wee are to be saved, and the supernaturall vision of almightie God in Heaven, by which wee are to be beatified.

The second knowledge of supernaturall objects, is that, which without any supernaturall or particular concurrence of God, or his supernaturall assistance, may be produced; such as a Heathen may haue of the vnitie, omnipotencie, and immensitie of God, and other supernaturall objects of our Redemption.

Now therefore as concerning the first kinde of supernaturall knowledge of supernaturall objects, it is most certaine that the diuels haue none such, but are worthily deprived of all such supernaturall gifts, for their sinne, as also of all practicall, euen naturall knowledge, with relation and order to doe good, in which sense, Saint *Iohn* saith, that *Hee who loneth not, doth not know God.* And Saint *Austine*, *Solos*

1 Ioh. 4.

August.

Epist. 112.

mundos corde videre Deum, that onely those who are cleane in heart doe see or know God.

But if we speake of the second kinde of naturall knowledge of some supernaturall objects, it is most certaine also that the diuell is not altogether deprived of this, as is manifest, *Mat.* the 8. Chap. ver. 28. and 29. where two possessed with diuels, which came out of the granes, very fierce, met with our Sauour, and cryed out, saying; *Iesus, the Sonne of God, what haue we to doe with thee? art thou come hither to torment vs before our time?* The same also is euident, *Act.* 16. 17. and many other places, but most particularly, *Act.* 19. 15. where the diuell said; *Iesus I acknowledge, and Paul I know.* And *James* Chap. 2. *The diuels beleeue and tremble;* It is therefore manifest, that the diuels know many supernatural mysteries, with a knowledge which in regard of the object, or thing knowne, may be called supernaturall, but in the realitie, and infusion, or manner of production of it, is not supernaturall.

The

Math. 8.
28. 29.

Act. 16. 17

Act. 19. 15

James 2.

The ninth D O V B T.

*Whether the diuell doth know things
to come?*

Anfw. To this I answere with the ordinary distinction of things future: for eyther they are altogether certaine in their causes, as the Eclipse of the Sunne and Moone: or they are not altogether certaine, because they haue some dependence of some other accidents, or free-will of man, though ordinarily they happen after one and the same manner; as that good seede, sowne in a good and well manured ground, and sufficiently watered, vwill giue good increase: or thirdly, these future effects depend wholly of the free-will of man, as that hee will commit such a sinne or not.

Now as touching the first kinde of future euents, they being altogether determined in their causes, who must necessarily at their due time produce

Three
kinds of
future
euents.

The diuell
can fore-
see the ef-
fects which
are altoget-
her deter-
minately
in their
causes, as
the Eclip-
ses of the
Sunne, and
Moone, &
the like.

* *Aug. lib.*
10 de ciuit.
dei.

The diuell
can fore-
see some
euents
with mo-
rall cer-
tainetie,
though
they haue
some con-
nexion
with free-
will.

such effects, the Diuels who perfectly comprehend the nature of the causes, doe also perfectly know the euents and effects, *quia Diabolus (inquit * Augustinus) quia Angelus habet omnes facultates intelligentia pura, & omnia secreta natura, quæ naturaliter spectant ad Angelum, siue bonum siue malum;* because (as Saint *Augustine* saith) an Angell hath all the faculties of a pure intelligence, and doth know all the secrets of nature, which doe naturally belong to any Angell, good or euill.

As concerning the second sort of future euents, which haue some dependence of free-will, and which are not altogether freed from impediments of successe, these (I say) cannot be knowne with the like certaintie of the diuell; for that they being not altogether certaine and determinate in their causes, it is vnpossible for any creature to know with certaintie, what will befall, but onely with great probabilitie, and with morall certaintie, that is, with such as will seldome faile

faile in these kindes of effects : for that the fore-saide causes are seldome hindered of their naturall courses.

But if wee consider the naturall knowledge of the diuels in the third kinde of future effects, which depend wholly of the will of man, as sinne, and other the like naturall humane actions, or which depend of these kindes of actions; certaine it is, that in these hee can haue lesse certaintie; yea, onely probability and coniectures, the reason is, because mans will being altogether free in these things, hee cannot know them otherwise then they are in it determinately, that is, with indifference to both successses; but yet supposing hee thoroughly knoweth the complexions, inclinations, and dispositions of men, who ordinarily worke according to their passions, and occasions. Hereupon it followeth, that hee can also in these haue no small probability of fore-telling such like euent, though not with such infallibilitie as the precedent. And hereupon it falleth

Those things which are altogether contingent and dependant of mans will, can in no wise be certainly knowne by the diuels though by the inclinations and dispositions of men they can coniecture very probably.

*Casmanus
de Angelis,
part. 2. c. 13.*

The rea-
son of the
ambiguity
of the O-
racles gi-
uen by the
Diuels.

out, as *Casman* well noteth; *Quod essi
Diaboli euentum ignorent, aufint interim
ea predicere, sed ita sua attemperant
verba, ut quocunq; res cadat, ipsi nullo
modo videri velint falsum pradixisse;*
*atq; hinc est, quod ambiguum oracu-
lorum pleni sint libri profani;* That if
the diuell doth not know the euent
of things, yet neuerthelesse, such is
his presumption, pride, and vehement
desire of intrangling men, that hee
will attempt to fore-tell that which
hee is not able to accomplish: but
so doth hee moderate his answeres,
and prophane Prophecies, that, which
way soeuer the matter befalleth, hee
may not seeme to haue erred, not to
haue spoken doubtfully, but that his
wordes being (as Prophecies are wont
to be) obscure and ambiguous, want-
ed onely sufficient vnderstanding, and
true interpretation.

The

The tenth D O V B T.

How, and by what meanes, the Diuels doe, or seeme, to fore-tell so many euents?

Ans. The reasons and meanes be those, which Saint *Austine* vpon *Genesis, ad literam*, thus declareth. First, because they are of a most subtile vnderstanding: secondly, they are of a most pure composition and disposition: thirdly, for their long expetience: fourthly, for that they learne diuers things of the holy and blessed Angels, to whom God reuealing many things to come, commaundeth them to be reuealed also vnto the diuels: and lastly, for that they oftentimes fore-tell those things vvhich they themselues are to worke immediately, by the permission of almighty God. To vvhich *Tertullian* also addeth: *By reason* (saith hee) *of their admirable velocitie, they are euery where in a moment; yea, all the world therefore seemeth to be as one place vnto them: consequently they know*

*Aug. lib. 2.
de Genesi ad
literam. cap.
17.*

know with as great facility, what is done in every place, as they can declare it: and so will seeme to be actors of things which they fore-tell; sometimes by the fore-said meanes, sometimes also out of the Prophets and other places of Scripture, and this oftentimes by the permission of Almighty God, for to punish the damnable curiositie of some, who preposterously seeke to imitate, or affect the diuine knowledge of future euents: *Ut occultis quodam Dei iudicio cupidi malarum rerum homines tradantur illudendi, & decipiendi, pro meritis voluptatum suarum illudentibus eos atque decipientibus per auaricarios Angelis, quibus ista pars mundi infima, secundum pulcherrimum ordinem rerum, diuina providentia lege subiecta est, quibus illusionibus, & deceptionibus euentus, ut istis superstiosis, & perditionis diuinationum generibus, multa praterea, & futura dantur, nec aliter accidunt quam dicuntur: multaque obseruationibus secundum obseruationes suas euentiant, quibus*

Aug. de doctrina Christiana cap. 22. & 23.

Why God permitteth the diuels, and those who haue compact with them, to fore-tell many future euents.

bus implicati curiosiores fiant, & sese magis magisque inferant multiplicibus laqueis perniciosissimi erroris. Quod genus fornicationis anima salubriter divina Scriptura non tacuit, neque ab ea sic deterruit animam, ut propterea negaret talia esse sectanda, quia falsa dicuntur a professoribus eorum: sed etiam si dixerit vobis (inquit) & ita eveniret, ne credatis eis. Non enim quia imago Samuelis mortui, Sauli vera prænunciavit, propterea talia sacrilegia quibus imago illa presentata est, minus execranda sunt: Aut quia in Actibus Apostolorum, ventriloqua famina verum testimonium prohibuit Apostolus Domini, ideo Apostolus Paulus pepercit illi spiritui, ac non potius alius Damoni correptione, atque exclusione mundavit. Omnes igitur Artes huiusmodi vel negatoria, vel noxia superstitionis, ex quadam pestifera societate hominum & Daemonum, quasi pacta infidelis, & dolosa amicitia constituta, penitus sunt repudianda, & fugienda Christianis. Yea (as the same Father well noteth in another place) those especially are

Deut. 19.

1 Reg. 28.

Act. 16.

Idem lib. 2.
de Gen. ad
literam, cap.
17.

Those which seeme to foretell most truely are most to be feared and shunned, for that the diuell doth seeke so to entangle the simpler sort of people, and those especially who are given to vaine obseruations

to be shunned, and taken heede of, who fore-tell most truely future contingencies; *Ne consortio Damoniorum, animam daceptam, pacto quodam societatis irretiant*; least wee be intrangled with the societie and snares of the diuell, *who like a roaring Lyon runneth about, searching by all meanes whom hee may deuoure*. From whose guiles, traps, power, and might, the eternall FATHER of his mercy, his SONNE our Sauour by his merits, and the holy GHOST by his diuine inspirations, and other inward and outward helpes, succour, deliuer, and alwayes protect vs; that so hauing obtayned victory of so malicious an enemy, and powerfull Prince of this world, hauing changed this our mortalitie with an immarcifible Crowne of glory and immortalitie, wee may sing with the glorious and most blessed Spirits a perpetuall *Alleluiah*, and Angelicall Hymne vnto the Lambe, and our eternall GOD; λέγοντες, Ἀμήν, ἡ ἐὺλογία, καὶ ἡ δόξα, καὶ ἡ σοφία, καὶ ἡ εὐχαριστία, καὶ ἡ τιμὴ, καὶ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ

καὶ ἡ ἰσχυς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμᾶς ἕως τῆς αἰῶ-
νος τῷ αἰῶνι, Ἀμήν : *Saying, Amen ;*
Prayse, and Glory, and Wisedome,
and Thankes, and Honour,
and Power, and Might,
be unto our God,
for euermore,
Amen.

The An-
gelicall
Hymne,
perpetual-
ly sung vnto
Almighty
God.

FINIS.



ERRATA.

ERRORS I must needes confesse there
be many in this little Treatise, but
most of no such moment, but they may
not easily be seene, and corrected in the
reading, without the noting of them:
wherefore I thought good neyther to
trouble my selfe, nor the Reader, with any
such review or correction; acknowledg-
ing that more be mine, then the Printers.

FINIS.

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